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SOME HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF PORTO RICO

I

UNDER THE RULE OF SPAIN

While it may be said with no small degree of accuracy and justice that the government of Porto Rico under Spanish rule, founded as it was upon the medieval and shortsighted colonial policy of Spain, never was, in substance, anything more than a military regime for the purpose of maintaining Spanish domination over the Island, and subjecting the native inhabitants to a greedy, cruel, and reckless system of exploitation, general exclusion, and debasement; yet there is no doubt that from the latter part of the nineteenth century Spain endeavored to give to the government of the Island a semblance, at least, of a civil character in harmony with Spanish institutions and the conceptions of colonial administration and prejudices prevailing in Spain. Previous to that time, however, the Island was strictly managed as a military post. At first the governors general were not assigned any military titles, although their powers and authority extended over all the military and naval forces stationed in the Island and, as a matter of fact, they were practically absolute military rulers; later, however, they began to assume military titles until, finally, the governor general came to be a

lieutenant general of the army and was known also as the captain general of the Island.¹

It would be quite interesting to follow step by step the varying historical aspects of the early government of Porto Rico under Spanish rule up to the comparatively recent time when it began to assume a civil character somewhat in harmony with the growing necessities of the Island and the pressing demands of its inhabitants. Nor is the history of the political evolutions which Porto Rico underwent in the last century lacking in human interest and positive value to the American student of colonial development in the New World. In this connection it may be said in passing, that Spain went just as far as was possible, but could not, however, keep up with the times. While there were, undoubtedly, some Spanish statesmen, like Pi y Margall and Moret, for instance, who could clearly appreciate the situation, the immense majority of the Spanish legislators and statesmen of that time seemed always quite unable to realize the unjustifiable blunders of the mistaken policy of Spain in the management of its enlightened colonies of this hemisphere; and it must be, perhaps mainly for this reason at least that these colonies had to be forever separated from their mother country. It was because Spain could not maintain its superiority over Porto Rico and Cuba that Spanish rule there became obnoxious, oppressive, barbarous, and cruel. Spain could not solve the Cuban and Porto Rican problems better than the progressive natives of those Islands could, and for that reason its position there was almost ridiculous and certainly false. There was no reason why Spain should be there. It could claim no superiority and therefore the excuse for Spanish colonial claims in Porto Rico had no moral foundation. We will not, however, attempt to go into these matters, as they lie beyond the scope of this article.

¹ Of the 118 Spaniards who were vested with the royal governing prerogative all but 3 of the last 87 were designated by military titles of high rank. From the beginning of the last century all the governors general had the military rank of field marshal or lieutenant general, and it was provided by royal order that in case of extraordinary vacancy, the senior military officer present should temporarily succeed to the vacant governorship. *Report of the Military Governor of Porto Rico*, in *House Doc. No. 2, 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1900-1901*, xiv, 31 *et seq.*

Their study, however, may be quite useful to the American statesman and legislator who honestly aspires to understand and help to solve the Porto Rican problem.

In order to complete this brief historical sketch of the government of Porto Rico previous to the granting of the so-called *autonomía* in 1897, it may be said that for over three centuries Porto Rico was governed, as we have seen, as a military post, and that the governor, as the royal representative, was the source of all power and authority in the Island. Up to 1840 the towns were practically managed by army officers, whose duty it was to report directly to the captain general of the Island. From that time until 1870 the policy was gradually adopted of giving to the larger municipalities a local government administered by civilians appointed by the governor and chosen, as a rule, from among the natives of Spain residing in the Island.²

Yielding to the pressure of the Cuban revolution of 1868 which ended in the agreement of El Zanjón of 1878, which Spain so recklessly dishonored, and in response, perhaps, to the more liberal tendencies which had their inception in the Spanish revolution of September, 1868, Porto Rico was made a Spanish province in 1870 with an adequate representation in the Spanish parliament, a Provincial Assembly or *Diputación Provincial*, as it was called, and a Provincial Committee, and some other provisions which made the government of the Island somewhat more liberal and civil in character. It is to be noticed, however, that the jurisdiction and powers of all these bodies in charge of the administration of the public interests and government of the Island were practically subordinated to the will of the governor general, while in special cases the whole matter could be taken to the central government in Spain. It must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that from 1870 up to the time of

² For an interesting account of the history and government of Porto Rico as well as of the administration of justice and power of the clergy in the Island, previous to the nineteenth century, see Iñigo Abbad, *Historia . . . de la Isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* (Madrid, 1788). This work was republished a century later by José Julián Acosta, in San Juan, Porto Rico. A fairly accurate statement wholly based upon Abbad's account may be found in the *Report of the Military Governor, ut supra*, pp. 65-67.

the cession of the Island by Spain to the United States, the status of Porto Rico was that of a Spanish province, exactly the same as that of any other province of Spain, and that by virtue of the Spanish Constitution, which was partially in force in the Island, its inhabitants were always considered as Spaniards, that is to say, as subjects or citizens of Spain.³

It is at this period of Porto Rican history that we see the most wonderful display of Porto Rican political ability and character. And here involuntarily comes to one's memory the names of such illustrious Porto Ricans as Baldorioty de Castro, Acosta, Blanco, Cintrón, Quiñones, Padial, whose vigorous and convincing patriotism and energetic appeals in the Spanish Parliament, commanded the respect and admiration of even their bitterest opponents. It was during this period and through the parliamentary efforts of these Porto Ricans, that the last traces of slavery were forever wiped out of the Island, and the central government began to assume a more liberal policy towards the Island.

Soon, however, the activities of the disgraceful institution of the *Voluntarios*, or the Spanish militia—in reality merely an armed political party composed of the *Peninsular* or native Spaniards residing in the Island, whose main purpose was to oppose the native Porto Ricans, and which was to play so important a rôle in the destinies of Porto Rico—together with the unwarrantable prejudices and partisanship of the Spanish governors who came to be real instruments of the *Voluntarios*, rendered practically useless, and even harmful, the new policy of the central government. Then followed a period of persecution and mismanagement which reached its most odious and abominable stage, with the *Componte*, in 1887, under the hateful General Palacios. Ten years later, due to a combination of events, including the Cuban War of Independence of 1895–1898, the strong

³ Constitutional unity was attained by a royal decree of November 25, 1898. See translation of this decree in *U. S. Foreign Relations*, 1897, pp. 618–619. The Spanish original will be found in *Gaceta de Madrid*, November 26, 1897. For a comprehensive account of the laws regulating the government of Porto Rico under Spain, see *Report of the Military Governor, ut supra*; pp. 239–261.

and continued pressure of the United States upon the government of Spain, which culminated in the Spanish-American War, the representations of a handful of illustrious Porto Ricans representing the autonomist party headed by Muñoz Rivera, and the fear perhaps of a Porto Rican uprising unless greater justice were granted to the Island, the cabinet of Señor Sagasta resolved that self-government should be given to Porto Rico. This was accordingly bestowed by a royal decree of November 25, 1917, signed by María Cristina, as queen regent of the kingdom, in the name of her son, the present king, Don Alfonso XIII.⁴

It would be quite impracticable to attempt a complete review of all the important provisions of this decree, which is, moreover, quite lengthy and foreign to American law. It may be said, however, that the said decree contained provisions for an insular parliament composed of two chambers, equal in power, called the Chamber of Representatives and the Council of Administration. The power to legislate on colonial affairs, as provided by law, was to be deposited in the insular chambers with the governor general. The governor was to be the representative of the central government, and was to have supreme control and power. The Council of Administration was to consist of fifteen members, eight of whom, when duly qualified therefor, were to be elected by the qualified voters of the Island, and the other seven were to be appointed by the king and, at his request, by the governor general from certain specified persons who, according to the decree, were to be qualified for such appointment and no others. The appointment of the seven councillors nominated by the crown were to be made by special decree in which their qualifications were to be stated, and they were to hold office for life. The elective councillors were to be renewed by halves, every five years, and whenever the governor should, according to parliamentary procedure, dissolve the legislature, half or all the elective councillors were to go out of office. The

⁴ The basis of this famous decree was a law of reforms passed by the Spanish Cortes in 1895. A complete translation of the decree will be found in *U. S. Foreign Relations*, 1898, pp. 636-644. The Spanish original will be found in *Gaceta de Madrid*, November 27, 1897.

Chamber of Representatives was to consist of duly qualified members appointed by electoral boards in the proportions of one to every twenty-five thousand inhabitants. The representatives were to hold office for five years and might be reelected indefinitely.

By the adaptation of the Spanish electoral law of 1890 to Porto Rico,⁵ the suffrage was extended to all male Porto Ricans, who as already noted were considered as Spaniards, over twenty-five years of age, in the full enjoyment of their civil rights and residents of a municipality for two years. The exceptions were those who had forfeited their political rights, those convicted of crime, bankrupts or insolvents not discharged according to law, delinquent tax payers, paupers, and mendicants. There was to be an electoral registration determining the right to vote.

The chambers were to meet regularly every year, but in accordance with the parliamentary system, which was thereby established in the Island, it was the privilege of the king and of the governor in the king's name to convene, suspend, or close their sessions, and to dissolve separately or simultaneously the Chamber of Representatives and the Council of Administration with the obligation to reconvene or hold new elections within three months. The initiative and proposal of colonial legislation was vested in the governor general through his secretaries, as well as in the two chambers. Colonial laws requiring appropriations of public moneys were first to be submitted to the Chamber of Representatives for their approval. All the laws passed by the colonial legislature had to be submitted to the governor general for his approval and promulgation, and whenever in his judgment the "interests of the nation" were threatened by colonial statutes, he was to consult the central government before the presentation of the bills. If the bill were introduced by an individual member of the parliament, the colonial government was to postpone all discussion of the same until the central government had expressed its opinion. In both cases any correspondence between the two

⁵ For a translation of the royal decree and general provisions relating to this subject see *U. S. Foreign Relations*, 1898, pp. 620-631. The Spanish original will be found in *Gaceta de Madrid*, November 26, 1897.

governments was to be forwarded to the chambers and published in the official bulletin.

The powers of the insular parliament extended to all such matters which had not been specifically reserved to the cortes of Spain or to the central government. In this sense, and with no thought of curtailing its powers, the insular chambers could legislate upon all matters pertaining to the Departments of Pardons, Justice, State, Treasury and Public Works, Education, and Agriculture. The said chambers had also power to legislate upon purely local affairs, and in this sense they could enact laws respecting administrative organization, territorial, provincial, municipal, or judicial divisions, public health on land and sea, public credit, banks, and the monetary system. The insular parliament could also legislate upon subjects committed to it by the cortes of the kingdom. In this sense it was within the powers of the parliament to act from the very beginning upon electoral procedure; the formation of the census; the qualifications of electors; and the manner of exercising the suffrage. This was to be done, however, without interfering with the rights of the citizen under the electoral law. It was the exclusive prerogative of the insular parliament to make the local budget, both in respect to expenditures as well as to income, and in regard to the necessary expenses to cover such a part of the national budget as belonged to the Island, and neither of the colonial chambers could deliberate on the colonial budget unless it had already voted finally on that part of it referring to the "expenses of sovereignty". It was, on the other hand, within the powers of the national cortes to determine the expenses which by their nature were "obligatory expenses inherent to sovereignty", as well as to fix the amount every three years and to state the income necessary to cover it. The cortes, however, had the right to change this provision.

There were in this decree some important provisions which are worthy of a literal transcription because they conferred upon the colonial government a very important prerogative. These provisions read as follows:

Art. 37. The negotiation of treaties of commerce affecting the Island of Porto Rico, whether they are due to the initiative of the insular government or to that of the central government, shall always be conducted by the latter, assisted in both cases by special delegates, duly authorized by the colonial government; and the conformity of these treaties to what has been agreed upon shall be shown when they are laid before the cortes of the kingdom.

These treaties, if approved by the cortes, shall be published as laws of the kingdom, and as such they shall remain in force in the territory of the Island.

Art. 38. Treaties of commerce, in the negotiations of which the insular government shall not have taken part, shall be communicated to it when they shall become laws of the kingdom, in order that it may, within three months, declare whether it desires to adhere to their stipulations or not. In case of its desiring to adhere to them the governor general shall publish a statement to that effect in the *Gazette* as a colonial statute.

Art. 39. It shall further be the duty of the insular parliament to prepare the tariff and to designate the duties to be paid on goods, both when imported into the territory of the Island and when exported therefrom.

As to the powers and functions of the governor general it may be said that, under this decree he was invested with the supreme government of the colony, and his appointment was made by the king on motion of the council of ministers. In his official capacity he exercised, as a vice royal patron, the powers inherent in the so-called *patronato* of the Indies. He had the chief command of all the armed forces, both naval and military, in the Island. He was the representative of the ministries of state, war, navy, and the colonies. All the authorities of the Island were subordinate to him, and he was to be responsible for the preservation of order and of the safety of the colony. He was also responsible for the publication and execution of all laws emanating from Spain, and when, in his judgment, and that of the secretaries of his administration, the decisions of her majesty's government might cause injury to the general interests of the nation, or to the special interests of the Island, he was to suspend their publication and execution, making to

the proper ministry a report thereof and of the reasons upon which his decision was founded. He was also, among other things, to see to it that the rights, powers and privileges recognized or thereafter to be recognized as belonging to the colonial administration, were duly enforced and observed. It was equally his duty to sanction and publish the enactments of the insular parliament which should be laid before him by the president and secretaries of the respective chambers. The veto power of the governor was to be exercised in the following manner:

When the governor general shall consider that an enactment of the insular parliament goes beyond the powers of that body, violates the rights of citizens which are recognized in Title I of the Constitution, or the guarantees fixed by law for the exercise of those rights, or jeopardizes the interests of the colony or of the state, he shall send the enactment to the council of ministers of the kingdom, which, in a period not exceeding two months shall approve it or return it to the governor general with a statement of the reasons that it may have for objecting to its sanction and promulgation. The insular parliament, in view of these reasons, may again deliberate concerning the matter and modify the enactment, if it think proper, without the necessity of a special proposition.

If two months shall pass without the central government having expressed its opinion concerning an enactment of the chambers that shall have been transmitted to it by the governor general, that officer shall sanction and promulgate it.

The governor general had also power to appoint, suspend, and remove the employees of the colonial administration, on motion of the respective secretaries of the government, according to law; and to appoint and remove freely the secretaries of the government. No decree of the governor general, however, issued in his capacity as representative and head of the colony could be carried out unless it were countersigned by a secretary of the government, who by this act alone, became responsible therefor.

The secretaries of the government were five, namely: Grace, Justice, and Interior; Finance; Public Instruction; Public Works and Communication; and Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

The secretary who should be appointed by the governor was to be the president. The governor could also appoint a president without portfolio. The insular parliament had power to increase or diminish the number of secretaries of the government, and also to determine the matters belonging to the department of each. The secretaries of the government might be members of the Chamber of Representatives or of the Council of Administration, and take part in the discussions of both bodies; but they were to have a vote only in matters pertaining to their respective departments; and they were to be responsible for their acts to the insular chambers.

The governor general could, on the other hand, notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, act by himself and on his own responsibility, without granting a hearing to the secretaries of the government, in the following cases:

- 1) When the question concerns the transmission to the government of the enactments of the insular chambers, especially when he considers that the rights guaranteed in Title I of the Constitution of the Monarchy or the guarantees provided by law for their exercise are violated by those enactments.
- 2) When the law relative to public order is to be executed, especially if there is no time or any way to consult the central government.
- 3) When the question is of the execution and fulfillment of laws of the kingdom sanctioned by his majesty, and operative throughout Spanish territory or that of its government.

A law shall provide for the procedure and means of action that may be used in such cases by the governor general.

There were in this decree other provisions relating to the municipal and provincial régime, and to guarantees for the enforcement of the colonial constitution; and four additional articles extending the application of the laws of the kingdom to all matters to be acted upon by the insular government pending publication of colonial statutes, and providing that the said constitution should not be modified except by a law and at the request of the insular parliament, etc. There were also other provisions of a transient nature intended to facilitate the transition from the old system to the new.

It would be perhaps pertinent to add by way of commentary on this remarkable piece of legislation, which was made extensive to both Porto Rico and Cuba, that while the Cuban patriots who were fighting Spain in the *manigua* rejected it as unworthy of their cause, the more conservative *autonomistas* of Cuba and the *liberales* of Porto Rico accepted it with real contentment as they saw in its provisions a rainbow of peace and future development and the dawning of a new era of harmony and better understanding with the old mother country whose colonies she had bound to her with the strong bands of a common blood, language, customs, laws, religion, and, from many points of view, admirable civilization. And yet, when we look back upon our past experiences and watch the ephemeral results of that Sagastine fusion⁶ which committed the best of Porto Rican leaders to the acceptance of that boasted "autonomy" for the purpose of gaining a doubtful control of the government of the Island, we feel an indignant regret that this almost posthumous concession of Spain was not emphatically rejected by the Porto Rican patriots. If they had done so, the American forces would have found in Porto Rico a brave and noble people fighting for their independence. As it was, they only found a semblance of a Porto Rican government and an oppressed conglomerate of people receiving them as liberators.

And what was the result? Alas, it has taken over twenty years for the American Congress to begin to get a just conception of the Porto Rican people.

But returning to the consideration of our subject, it must be said that while, indeed, this once famous and now almost forgotten Spanish decree of 1897 has been the object of much adverse commentary and bitter criticism, and while it has been denounced as a mere concoction of the same old military régime which

⁶ Reference is here made to a political move made by the late Señor Muñoz Rivera by which a fusion of the Autonomist Party of Porto Rico into the Spanish Liberal Party led by Señor Sagasta was accomplished upon the understanding that the Autonomist Party was to be considered as a sort of prolongation of the Sagastine Party with the name of "Partido Liberal," under the leadership of Señor Muñoz Rivera, and given governmental support by Señor Sagasta's party, whenever the latter should be in power in Spain.

practically centralized all power and authority under the governor, and defined as a makeshift calculated to give to the new government, which the decree purported to establish, a civil appearance, with the pretty garment of a colonial parliament and a few provincial frills of Spanish *autonomía* (which, as a matter of fact, was no self-government at all), yet when viewed in a dispassionate and calm spirit of justice, it cannot be denied that it contained some very liberal provisions. One must recognize that, from a Spanish point of view, the decree was really a long step toward a wiser policy of colonial administration. Had Spain twenty-five years earlier given this same organic act both to Porto Rico and to Cuba, which had always been inseparably united under the rule of the old mother country, there would have been in all probability no real occasion for the intervention of the United States in the destinies of these two islands, especially if this decree had been supplemented from time to time with those changes and additions that experience and the actual necessities of the situation had shown to be advisable. As it was, however, this belated *autonomía* or self-government of a Spanish type failed of its most cherished desires; for it had scarcely been put into successful operation when the Spanish-American War put an end to Spanish colonial power in America and to Spain's improvident, reckless, and disastrous mismanagement of the trust which providence had, through the discovery of Columbus four centuries before, confided to that country's care.

II

UNDER THE FORAKER ACT

With the invasion, occupation, and final acquisition of Porto Rico there ensued in the Island three legally different periods of military government under the authority of the United States. These three different aspects of the military government of Porto Rico under American rule have been already discussed by the present writer in the *American Journal of International Law*.⁷ Now we will examine the principal features of the civil govern-

⁷ Vol. IX, 887-912; vol. X, 318-327.

ment which was established in Porto Rico by the so called Foraker Act.⁸ It is said that the authorship of the original draft of this measure, which bears the name of the late Senator Foraker from Ohio, who introduced it into the senate, belongs in reality to the Honorable Elihu Root, then secretary of war in the cabinet of President Roosevelt, who also it is asserted, prepared some time later, in the same capacity, the original draft of the so-called Platt Amendment regulating the relations between the United States and Cuba.

The Foraker Act was, as is quite apparent from its title,⁹ a merely temporary measure, intended to substitute the existing military régime for a civil government, and was indeed the result of a rather hasty preparation and of still more hasty amendments and reforms made in both Houses of Congress, under the impression that Porto Rico was, like the Philippines, not quite fully prepared to assume the duties and obligations of a self-governing people. Furthermore, when the bill was presented to the senate it contained a provision extending to Porto Ricans the privilege of American citizenship; but this was left out by the committee in charge of the bill, apparently under the impression that such provision would affect the constitutionality of the act in respect to certain revenue provisions contained therein. This impression, however, was practically destroyed by the effect of the doctrine of non-incorporation sustained by the supreme court in the now famous insular cases.¹⁰

Conceived as it was, upon American philosophical theories of government, this law at once established, although imperfectly, for the government of the Island the wellknown divisions distributing the powers of the government into three distinct and separate departments: Executive, Legislative, and Judicial.

Examining somewhat in detail the provisions of the act, we notice, in the first place, that it did not concern itself with any special declaration of the political status of the Island but speci-

⁸ 31 U. S. Stat. at Large, p. 77.

⁹ "An Act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes."

¹⁰ *American Journal of International Law*, July, 1919.

fically stated that these provisions were to apply to the Island of Porto Rico and to the adjacent islands and waters thereof, and that the name Porto Rico, as used in the act, was to be held as including not only the Island of that name but all the adjacent islands as aforesaid.

Then followed several provisions dealing with the application of custom tariffs and internal revenue taxes. An interesting feature of these provisions was that the duties and taxes collected in Porto Rico in pursuance of the act, less the cost of collecting the same, and the gross amount of all collections of duties and taxes in the United States upon articles of merchandise coming from Porto Rico were not to be covered into the general fund of the Treasury of the United States, but were to be held as a separate fund at the disposal of the president to be used for the government and benefit of Porto Rico until the civil government provided by the act should have been organized, when all moneys belonging to this fund not yet expended were to be transferred to the local treasury of Porto Rico. And it was also provided that as soon as the said civil government should have been organized, all collections of duties and taxes in Porto Rico under the act should be paid into the treasury of Porto Rico for the government and benefit of the Island instead of being paid into the Treasury of the United States. It has been said that by error in the phraseology of the last provision all collections of duties and taxes in the United States upon articles of merchandise coming into the United States from the Island were excluded from going into the local treasury of Porto Rico. The error, if there was one, has been corrected in the more recent Jones-Shafroth Act.¹¹

The aforesaid provisions of the Foraker Act also contained a proviso to the effect that whenever the legislature of Porto Rico should have enacted and put into operation a system of local taxation to meet the necessities of the government of the Island, all tariff duties on merchandise and articles going into Porto Rico from the United States or coming into the United States from Porto Rico were to cease, and from and after such date all

¹¹ See *infra*, p. 570.

such merchandise and articles were to be entered at the several ports of entry free of duty. This provision was sometime after taken advantage of by the legislature of the Island, and Porto Rico was thus included in the custom union of the United States.¹²

As regards the status of the inhabitants of the Island, the Foraker Act contained the following provision:

Sec. 7. That all inhabitants continuing to reside therein who were Spanish subjects on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine, and then resided in Porto Rico, and their children born subsequent thereto, shall be deemed and held to be citizens of Porto Rico, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States, except such as shall have elected to preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain on or before the eleventh day of April, nineteen hundred, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain entered into on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine; and they, together with such citizens of the United States as may reside in Porto Rico, shall constitute a body politic under the name of The People of Porto Rico, with governmental powers as hereinafter conferred, and with power to sue and be sued as such.¹³

As to existing laws there were provisions continuing in full force and effect all laws and ordinances of Porto Rico then in force, except as altered, amended, or modified by the act, or by such military orders and decrees in force at the time, and so far as the same were not inconsistent or in conflict with the statutory laws of the United States not locally inapplicable, until altered, amended, or repealed by the legislature of Porto Rico, or by an act of congress. There were also some specific exceptions to

¹² At the first session of the Legislative Assembly, a revenue act was passed known as the Hollander Act, which went into effect February 1, 1901, and on July 25, 1901, President McKinley issued a proclamation in accordance with the provisions of the Foraker Act, from and after which date free trade has existed between the United States and Porto Rico.

¹³ It has been contended that this provision recognized by implication a Porto Rican citizenship based upon a Porto Rican sovereignty. See José de Diego, *Nuevas Campañas*. The contention, however, would seem to be founded on an erroneous conception of the American system of government, and the clear intention of Congress in describing the status of certain classes of the inhabitants of the Island for purely governmental purposes.

this provision relating to some old Spanish laws still in force such, for instance, as those forbidding the marriage of priests, etc., which were specifically repealed.

Provision was also made for the nationalization of Porto Rican vessels and their admission to the coastwise trade of the United States, as well as for the exchange of Porto Rican coins then in circulation for American money under certain rules and regulations relating thereto, a provision which, when carried into effect, soon afterwards, caused quite a revolution in the economic life of the Island and produced a general readjustment and consolidation of public and private wealth and values.

The act also contained provisions relating to the disposition of all property acquired in Porto Rico by the United States under the cession by Spain, and extending to Porto Rico such statutory laws of the United States as were applicable therein, except internal revenue laws which in view of the above provisions concerning revenues were not to be in force in the Island.

As concerns the Executive Department, Section 17 of the act provided as follows:

That the official title of the chief executive officer shall be "The Governor of Porto Rico." He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; he shall hold his office for a term of four years and until his successor is chosen and qualifies unless sooner removed by the President; he shall reside in Porto Rico during his official incumbency, and shall maintain his office at the seat of government; he may grant pardons and reprieves, and remit fines and forfeitures for offenses against the laws of Porto Rico, and respites for offenses against the laws of the United States, until the decision of the President can be ascertained; he shall commission all officers that he may be authorized to appoint, and may veto any legislation enacted, as hereinafter provided; he shall be the commander in chief of the militia, and shall at all times faithfully execute the laws, and he shall in that behalf have all the powers of governors of the Territories of the United States that are not locally inapplicable; and he shall annually, and at such other times as he may be required, make official report of the transactions of the government in Porto Rico, through the Secretary of State, to the President of the United States: *Provided*, That the President may, in his dis-

cretion, delegate and assign to him such executive duties and functions as may in pursuance with law be so delegated and assigned.

There was also a so-called Executive Council, composed of eleven members appointed by the president by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, for the term of four years, as follows: A secretary, an attorney general, a treasurer, an auditor, a commissioner of the interior, a commissioner of education, and five other persons of good repute. It was a specific provision of this act that five at least of the members of the executive council should be natives of Porto Rico.

It must be noticed here that the functions of this peculiar body were both executive and legislative in nature. As to its executive functions it could not perhaps be properly called a body, for aside from its executive action under local laws, executive functions were, under this act, practically centered in their entirety upon the aforementioned officials as duties and powers assigned to them in their respective capacities. In the case of the death, removal, resignation or disability of the governor, or his temporary absence from Porto Rico, the secretary was to succeed him in the exercise of all the powers and the performance of all the duties of the governor, during such vacancy, disability, or absence. All these executive officials were to transmit, through the governor to the attorney general, the secretaries of the treasury and of the interior and the commissioner of education, respectively, such reports concerning their duties as the latter might require, which were to be annually transmitted to congress. The secretary was also to transmit to the president, the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and the secretary of state of the United States, one copy each of the laws and journals of each session of the legislative assembly.

It has been said that the greatest defect and evil of this law was to combine in the Executive Council corporate legislative powers and individual executive functions in a majority of its members, who as heads of departments might be interested in a legislative measure and vote upon it to insure or defeat its

passage, influenced merely by their views as executive officials. In this way it has been even charged that these officials often indulged in mutual concessions and bargainings in matters relating to their respective departments in order to insure harmony among themselves and thus be able to block all efforts of the people, through the House of Delegates, which were their only true representatives, to pass legislation beneficial to Porto Rico but contrary to their own individual interests as heads of such executive departments. This was practically admitted by Governor Yager in one of the hearings before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House respecting the so called Jones-Shafroth Act which is now in force in Porto Rico. Another thing which certainly complicated matters and had a very detrimental effect upon the people was that the provision relating to the appointment of at least five natives of Porto Rico for this Executive Council was construed or at least acted upon as if it in substance prescribed that number not as a minimum but as a maximum of Porto Rican representation in the council, with the result that since the acquisition of the Island up to the death of that body, under the Jones-Shafroth Act, Porto Ricans were always in minority in the council, simply because the administration never saw fit to appoint more than the five provided for in the law as a minimum. Is it then any wonder that the people should have begun to get restless and thoroughly dissatisfied with that body? It must be stated, however, that during the present administration, Governor Yager, who seems to be a man of largeness of mind and heart, of his own volition, and deeming perhaps that it was an act of plain justice which could result in nothing but great benefit to the Island, recommended to President Wilson the appointment of two more Porto Ricans for the Executive Council which gave them in that body a proportion of seven Porto Ricans as against four Americans, whereas until then it had been six Americans as against five Porto Ricans. President Wilson approved the recommendation and that relieved somewhat the situation which was becoming quite intolerable and prejudicial. Governor Yager himself has said upon this point:

When I went to Porto Rico, without any definite instructions from anybody but just feeling that that would be the proper thing to do, I recommended the appointment of two members of the Executive Council from among the Porto Ricans who had always heretofore been Americans. I selected the men with care and put them into executive positions and into the Executive Council. That produced an excellent impression in Porto Rico. There is no doubt about that, and I have had abundant evidence of it in the last 18 months—that the people of the Island generally feel that that was a step toward giving them a chance at the highest executive offices, and they appreciated it exceedingly. Of course, they did not agree with me entirely as to the best men. Some of them thought perhaps I could have done better. That is always the way, though. Nevertheless, they had the good sense and patriotism to see that the principle was the thing they wanted and the question of men was a minor matter. They showed good sense and judgment. They have appreciated that.¹⁴

Respecting the Legislative Department, it may be said that all local legislative power granted by this law was vested in a Legislative Assembly consisting of two houses: one was of course, the so-called Executive Council, which was, as we have seen, wholly appointive, and the other, a House of Representatives, consisting of thirty-five members elected biennially by the qualified voters of the Island; and the two houses thus constituted were designated "The Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico."

Concerning the qualifications for membership in the Executive Council, entire discretion was left to the President and the Senate of the United States in the matter of choosing. As to the representatives, there were no specific qualifying restrictions except that no person was to be eligible to membership in the House of Delegates, who was not twenty-five years of age and able to read and write either the Spanish or the English language, or who was not possessed in his own right of taxable property, real or personal, situated in Porto Rico. These features of the act are quite in contrast with the old Spanish *autonomía* in that the qualifying requisites for membership in the insular chambers

¹⁴ Hearings before the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 64th Cong. First Sess., on H. R. 8501, January 13, 1916.

under the Spanish law were so numerous and exclusive that only few people could aspire to candidacy therefor. Owing, however, to the conditions which have been noticed respecting the manner of choosing the constituent elements of the Executive Council, the people of Porto Rico soon grew to regard the House of Representatives, which being an elective body was completely controlled by Porto Ricans, as the only truly Porto Rican element in the legislative department of the Island. The provision relating to the knowledge of reading and writing of either the Spanish or the English language, is rather out of place and amusing, but it shows in a measure the mistaken view of Congress as to the capacity of the people of Porto Rico in matters of self-government. To think that they could elect without this extemporaneous prohibition for their local legislature persons who could not read and write goes beyond any possible conception of "incapacity" unless the purpose was, as seems to be the case, to prevent the legislature of Porto Rico, which was the final arbiter in respect to the qualifications of its own members, to oust from its deliberations such Americans as had not learned as yet the Spanish language.

The suffrage under this law was extended, for the first election, to all citizens of Porto Rico who had been *bona fide* residents for one year and who possessed the other qualifications of voters under the laws and military orders in force on March 1, 1900,¹⁵ subject to such modifications and additional qualifications and to such regulations and restrictions as to registration as the Executive Council might prescribe.¹⁶ As to subsequent elections the Legislative Assembly was empowered to provide otherwise. Thus at the time of the passage of the present Jones-Shafroth Act universal suffrage of male citizens over the age of twenty-one years was the rule for the exercise of the franchise in Porto Rico, subject to proper provisions respecting registration and other

¹⁵ For an interesting account of elections in Porto Rico, and the qualifications of voters under the old Spanish laws, and General Orders of the military governors, see *Report of the Military Governor, ut supra*, pp. 106-116.

¹⁶ In this connection see *First Annual Report of Charles H. Allen, Governor of Porto Rico*, 1901, pp. 18-21.

matters relating to the conduct of elections and the proper use of the ballot. The method of election adopted by the legislature of Porto Rico was the Australian method of registration and balloting.

In respect to the legislative powers conferred by this law upon the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico it may be said that its powers extended to all matters of a legislative character not locally inapplicable, including the power to create, consolidate, and reorganize the municipalities, so far as might be necessary, and to provide and repeal laws and ordinances therefor; and also to alter, amend, modify, and repeal any and all laws and ordinances of every character then in force in Porto Rico; or any municipality or district thereof, not inconsistent with the provisions of the act, with the proviso that all grants of franchises, rights and privileges or concessions of a public nature were to be made by the Executive Council, with the approval of the governor, and all franchises granted in Porto Rico were to be reported to Congress, which thereby reserved to itself the power to annul or modify the same.

The veto power over the legislature was expressed in the following provision:

Sec. 31. That all bills may originate in either house, but no bill shall become a law unless it be passed in each house by a majority vote of all the members belonging to such house and be approved by the governor within ten days thereafter. If, when a bill that has been passed is presented to the governor for signature, he approves the same, he shall sign it, or if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated, which house shall enter his objections at large on its journal, and proceed to reconsider the bill. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be considered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered upon the journal of each house, respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within ten days (Sundays excepted) after

it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislative assembly by adjournment prevent its return, in which case, it shall not be a law.

This is the veto power as we recognize it in the United States: that is to say, the power in the Executive to suspend the validity of a law until the legislature has had an opportunity to reconsider the measure. There was, however, a proviso to the effect that all laws enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico were to be reported to the Congress of the United States, which thereby reserved to itself the power and authority, if deemed advisable, to annul the same. The Executive Council, on the other hand, acted as a sort of auxiliary in this respect, and all legislation originating in the House of Representatives which was opposed by the governor was quite sure to be killed by the Executive Council, and for this reason that body came to be regarded by the people of the Island as a mere instrument or executor of the will of the governor, which was pretty much like the old way under Spain, of placing in the hands of the governor both the executive and legislative functions of government.

The Judicial Department was constituted under this act of the same courts and tribunals already existing in the Island whether by virtue of the old Spanish laws or by the general orders of the military government.¹⁷ The jurisdiction of these courts and the form of procedure in them, and the various officials and attachés thereof, respectively, were to be the same as defined and prescribed in and by said laws and general orders until otherwise provided by law. There was here a proviso to the effect that the chief justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court and the marshall thereof were to be appointed by the president,¹⁸ by and with the advice and consent of the

¹⁷ For an account of the judicial system of Porto Rico under Spain and its reorganization under the military regime of the United States, see *Report of the Military Governor, ut supra*, pp. 65-83. The Supreme Court was created by a military order on October 26, 1898, only slightly after the occupation of the Island by the military forces of the United States.

¹⁸ As at present constituted this court is composed of five judges, three of whom including the chief justice are Porto Ricans, the other two being continental Americans. The marshal is also a Porto Rican.

Senate of the United States, and that the judges of the district courts were to be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, and that all other officials and attachés of all the other courts were to be chosen as might be directed by the legislative assembly which was to have authority to legislate from time to time as it might see fit with respect to said courts, and any others which the said legislature might deem it advisable to establish, their organization, and number of judges and officials and attachés for each, their jurisdiction, their procedure, and all other matters affecting them.

Porto Rico, on the other hand, was to constitute a judicial district to be called "the District of Porto Rico". The president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, was to appoint a district judge, a district attorney, and a marshall for said district each for a term of four years, unless sooner removed by the president. This court, which was to be the successor of a United States provisional court established by a military order promulgated by General Davis,¹⁹ was to be called the "District Court of the United States for Porto Rico," and it had power to appoint all such personnel as might be necessary. The jurisdiction of this court was to extend, in addition to the ordinary jurisdiction of district courts of the United States, to all cases cognizant in the circuit courts of the United States, and was to proceed therein in the same manner as a circuit court.²⁰ It was also provided in this respect that the laws of the United States relating to appeals, writs of error and certiorari, removal of causes and other matters and proceedings as between the courts of the United States and the courts of the several States were to govern in such matters and proceedings as between the district court

¹⁹ For the organization, purpose, jurisdiction, and procedure of this provisional court which came to be known as the Federal Court, see *Report of Military Governor, ut supra*, p. 74 *et seq.*

²⁰ The jurisdiction of this court was enlarged by sec. 3 of a subsequent act of Congress, approved March 2, 1901, amending the Foraker Act, so that the latter might extend to and embrace controversies in civil cases when the parties, or either of them, were citizens of the United States, or citizens or subjects of foreign states, wherein the matter in dispute exceeded, exclusive of interest or costs the sum or value of one thousand dollars. *31 U. S. Stat. at Large*, p. 953.

of the United States and the court of Porto Rico. All pleadings and proceedings in the said district court were to be conducted in the English language.²¹

Another provision decreed that writs of error and appeals from the final decisions of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico and the district court of the United States were to be allowed and might be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States in the same manner and under the same regulations and in the same cases as from the supreme courts of the territories of the United States; and in all cases where the constitution of the United States, or a treaty thereof, or an act of Congress was brought in question and the right claimed thereunder was denied; and the supreme and districts courts of Porto Rico and the respective judges thereof had power to grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases in which the same are grantable by the judges of the district and circuit courts of the United States. Here also all such proceedings in the Supreme Court of the United States were to be conducted in the English language.

This law contained also a prohibition against the imposition of duties on exports from Porto Rico, and a provision authorizing the imposition of taxes and assessments on property and license fees for franchises, privileges, and concessions, for the purpose of the Insular and municipal governments respectively, as might be provided and defined by the Legislative Assembly. By this law Porto Rico, or any municipal government therein, was authorized when necessary to anticipate taxes and revenues, to issue bonds and other obligations, to provide for expenditures authorized by law and to protect the public credit, etc.; but no public indebtedness of Porto Rico or any municipality thereof was to be authorized or allowed in excess of seven per centum of the aggregate valuation of its property.

Following somewhat the practice established for the territories, this law provided for a resident commissioner of Porto Rico to

²¹ For obvious reasons the district judge appointed for this court has always been an American. Practice in this court has been largely confined to American lawyers until recent years when Porto Rican lawyers trained in American universities and colleges began to participate therein as well as in many other matters relating to the government of the Island.

the United States, who was to be entitled to official recognition as such by all departments, upon presentation to the department of state of a certificate of election issued by the governor of the Island. This resident commissioner was to be elected by the qualified voters of Porto Rico every two years, and was to be a *bona fide* resident of the Island, no less than thirty years of age, and able to read and write the English language. By the courtesy of Congress, and quite outside of this law, he was also accorded a seat and voice, but no vote, in the House of Representatives, with practically all the same privileges and the same salary enjoyed by the regular members of Congress.

This act became a law on April 12, 1900; but owing to the necessary delays connected with the appointment of the officials created thereby as well as the final establishment of the new machinery provided by the act, it was deemed advisable to reorganize the military government in some of its details to make it conform to the provisions of the act. And by this method the new functionaries, with the exception of the governor who had been appointed by the president and was already in the Island, were appointed by the military governor, held over and continued to perform their duties until their places were filled in the manner prescribed by the act.²² The new government was in this manner inaugurated on May 1, 1900 when the executive functions of the government were transferred by the last of the military governors, General George W. Davis, U. S. A., to the first so-called civil governor of the Island, Hon. Charles H. Allen.²³

As a final commentary upon the effects of this law it may be said that another capital defect and evil of the most obnoxious

²² By a joint resolution of May 1, 1900, the military officers in charge of the government of Porto Rico were empowered to fill the civil positions created by this act, which was of course intended to permit such officers to continue exercising the functions of the government until the new executive officers created by the act should be appointed and qualify. By this resolution were also introduced some amendments relating to grants of franchises, privileges, etc. *31 U. S. Stat. at Large*, pp. 717-718.

²³ For an account of the establishment and working of the new civil government of the Island under this law, see *Report of the Military Governor, ut supra*, pp. 56-57, and *Reports of the Governors of Porto Rico, 1901-1917*.

nature of its provisions was that practically all executive officials, including the governor and members of the Executive Council, judges, and nearly all public functionaries from the highest rank to the lowest, were purely appointive positions controlled either by the president, by the Executive Council or by the governor, with the result that the people of Porto Rico had no voice on the designation of the persons who were to serve theoretically as their servants and practically as their masters in the administration of their government. It is no wonder therefore that Porto Ricans as a rule should have been practically ousted and excluded from the higher positions in that government, and that on account of that atavic and ever-present tendency of men everywhere to show preference for those of their own kind, nationality, or breed, Americans were as a rule preferred. And the pretext was always the same: Porto Ricans were not prepared; they were not fit to exercise the powers and perform the duties connected with those higher offices which controlled the management and direction of their own affairs and government. The result of all this was that there came an ever-increasing influx of carpet-baggers into the Island who sought to belittle and obscure Porto Ricans to the end of preserving to themselves or their American favorites the benefits of the Porto Rican treasury and the honor and prerogatives belonging and appertaining to the higher offices of the insular government. And while it is undoubtedly true that many learned and honored Americans who came to the Island have rendered noble and distinguished service to Porto Rico, yet illustrious and competent Porto Ricans were thrown back into undeserved obscurity and branded as incompetent, as incapable, as unprepared to assume the sacred duties and obligations of their own government, while obscure and even disqualified and incompetent Americans were placed in positions of responsibility and trust. Is it then any wonder that there should have developed in the Island a strong public sentiment against this system which made possible all this exclusion, and misrepresentation, and all this imposition and abuse? Is it then any wonder that some Porto Ricans should have come, as a consequence of these things, to regard American sovereignty over

the Island as nothing more or less than the personification of a new master still more formidable than Spain? And when the constant failure of the repeated efforts of Porto Ricans to have Congress correct these terrible errors is considered, is there any wonder that the more excitable and the more impatient should have begun to talk of despotism and independence and regard those Americans who went to Porto Rico to profit by their misfortunes and conditions of political inferiority and preterition, not as real friends or fellow Americans, but rather as office seekers and despoilers of their government, of their wealth, of their prestige, and of their faith?

And yet during all those years of political trials and tribulations the saner Porto Rican elements did not lose their faith and trust in the American people: they knew that this great and noble and generous nation would some day begin to do them justice. That law, the Foraker Act, was only a temporary measure: it was not the final word of the American Congress. Some day that law would have to be revised and amended or completely superseded by some other measure. Some day the American people would have to consider Porto Rico and render it complete justice. And the counsel and example of these saner men prevailed throughout the Island. And the people sat tight and waited, waited bravely, courageously, for nearly twenty years, until at last one day Congress saw fit to pass another organic act for the Island. Whether or not this new organic act fulfilled and satisfied completely the aspirations of the Porto Rican people will be considered later. For the present we must add that in spite of its excessive conservatism and glaring defects, the Foraker Act was undisputedly an admirable measure. Under its provisions Porto Rico accomplished more than could really have been expected. As a provisional measure, the Foraker Act will always stand as a monument to American ability and statesmanship, in framing, without previous experience in colonial matters, a law so well calculated to obviate and avoid the ominous dangers attending that difficult period of transition from the oppressive, degrading, and ruinous domination of Spain to the liberal, uplifting, and prosperous

rule of the United States. And let it be said loudly, under its provisions Porto Rico has developed politically, socially, economically, and in every possible sense, to such an extent that it might not be recognized today by those who beheld it languishing under the sovereignty of Spain. The greatest mistake, however, was to let it endure so long.²⁴ However wise its provisions might have been at first, in later years they were productive of much mischief. Had it been superseded earlier by a more appropriate measure, the Foraker Act would today deserve only favorable comment and praise. As it was, it must be criticised, and much of the good in it was in great measure destroyed, not so much perhaps from a lack of elasticity and adaptability to the new conditions which had developed in the Island, as from the inflexible ultraconservative interpretation given to its terms by the American administration during so many years of congressional indifference, procrastination, and delay.

III

THE PRESENT JONES-SHAFROTH ACT: A MEASURE OF RELATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR PORTO RICO

Although the procrastinating and fateful "mañana" of the Spaniards seemed to have contaminated Congress in respect to the enactment of more appropriate legislation for Porto Rico, after more than four years of dilly-dallying in the consideration of no less than four different bills²⁵ which were repeatedly intro-

²⁴ By an act of Congress approved July 15, 1909 (*36 U. S. Stat. at Large*, p. 11) two important amendments were introduced in this act: one providing that the general appropriations for any fiscal year for which the legislature fails to pass an appropriation measure shall be the same as in the previous year; and the other prescribing that all reports required by law to be made by the governor or members of the executive council to any official in the United States shall be made to an executive department of the government of the United States designated by the president, and the president is thereby authorized to place all matters pertaining to the governor of Porto Rico in the jurisdiction of such department. The War Department, theoretically, but practically the Bureau of Insular Affairs as a branch of that department and at present constituted as a sort of Ministry of the Colonies, has at present entire charge of Porto Rican affairs.

²⁵ Two of these bills originated in the senate, and the other two in the House. They were introduced respectively by Senators Shafroth of Colorado and Sauls-

duced in both houses of Congress, and after many hearings, discussions, and comments upon the same without any practical results, at last a new organic law was passed by Congress,²⁶ the title of which is as follows: "An Act to provide a Civil Government for Porto Rico and for other purposes." This law, which was approved on March 2, 1917, was the result or combination of two bills introduced respectively in the House of Representatives and the Senate by Representative William A. Jones of Virginia and Senator John F. Shafrroth of Colorado: hence the actual name given to this law, "Jones-Shafrroth Act".

Much has been said in respect to the authorship of this act, but as a matter of fact it may be stated that whoever may have planned its general scheme and purpose, it suffered so many modifications and amendments by so many suggestions coming from so many sources, that in justice to all it could be scarcely called anything else than the offspring of many minds and of many hearts.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Shafrroth undoubtedly are entitled to a good share of the credit for it; but so are also the Hon. Arthur Yager, the present governor of Porto Rico, and General McIntyre and Colonel Walcutt, both of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. Not the least credit and praise for this measure were undoubtedly due to the Hon. Resident Commissioner of Porto Rico, the late Señor Luis Muñoz Rivera, who was also the author of another bill, which was killed in committee because of its more radical features. Entitled to credit are also a good many Porto Ricans and distinguished Americans who either in some official or even purely personal capacity, or as representatives or members of commissions representing the different political parties of the Island, contributed with their suggestions and proposed amendments and modifications to give to the said measure its present acceptable form.

bury of Delaware, Representative Jones of Virginia, and Resident Commissioner Muñoz Rivera, of Porto Rico. The Saulsbury bill proposed to make Porto Rico an incorporated territory of the United States and was killed in committee; Señor Muñoz Rivera's bill provided for complete self-government for the Island and shared the same fate as the Saulsbury bill. The Shafrroth and the Jones bill were finally combined into the present Jones-Shafrroth Act.

²⁶ The Jones-Shafrroth Act, Public No. 368, 64th Cong. H. R. 9533.

Owing to the great length and importance of this measure and in order to avoid a misconception or misinterpretation of its terms, which might be the result of making a condensed statement of them, we will content ourselves with giving here a general outline of its principal features, referring the reader, who may be interested in knowing its exact provisions, to the text of this law.²⁷

In examining this law, the first thing we notice is that, like the old Foraker Act, it does not concern itself with a determination of the status of the Island, evidently preferring to leave it in the same condition that it was theretofore, namely, as declared by the Supreme Court in the consideration of the famous insular cases, which we have quite extensively reviewed.²⁸

Then follows a "Bill of Rights" in which are included a good many matters which ought to have been left to the legislature of Porto Rico to determine. The insertion of this "Bill of Rights" of course carries with it in a good many provisions the implication that the Constitution is not to be considered as in force in the Island, at least to the extent that it is not absolutely controlling the action of Congress therein; for if there had been an opposite intention, it would have been enough to make a declaration to that effect, without the necessity of including in it a few provisions of that instrument relating to the rights and guaranties of the citizen thereunder.

The most important feature of this law is in respect to the political status of the inhabitants of the Island. By it, it is declared that all citizens of Porto Rico, as defined by the old Foraker Act, and other Porto Ricans, who by a defect in the drafting of that law, were excluded from Porto Rican citizenship, are citizens of the United States. There is also a proviso by which any of the above persons described by this law may retain his old political status by making a declaration to that effect before a competent court within a certain time from the taking effect of the act. This proviso was of course intended to prevent

²⁷ See above, note 26.

²⁸ *American Journal of International Law*; vol. X, pp. 317-327, see also July, 1919.

any one from contending that American citizenship had been forced upon him against his will or consent, because under its terms he could decline to receive this citizenship by simply making a formal declaration to that effect in the manner prescribed by law. It may be said, however, that the number of persons who availed themselves of this proviso is so small that it can scarcely be considered as of any particular importance. According to the report of the governor of Porto Rico to the secretary of war for the year 1917, not more than 290 persons for the whole Island made renunciation of American citizenship; while on the other hand more than 800 persons born in Porto Rico of alien parents have voluntarily availed themselves of another provision of the act permitting them to become American citizens by a sworn declaration of allegiance to the United States.

Another characteristic feature of this act is that the divisions pertaining to the powers of the government are more precisely marked out and established than in the old Foraker Act as between the executive and legislative departments. Under this law the executive power is vested in the governor who has general supervision and control of all the departments and bureaus of the government and is responsible for the execution of the laws of Porto Rico and of the United States applicable in the Island. There are also created by this law six executive departments called respectively: Justice, Finance, Interior, Education, Agriculture and Labor, and Health. The heads of these several departments, who are designated as the attorney general, the treasurer, and the commissioners of the interior, education, agriculture and labor, and health, respectively, form, in a collective capacity, a council to the governor, known as the Executive Council. Of all these executive officials, the governor, the attorney general and the commissioner of education are appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States; the heads of the four remaining departments, that is to say, the treasurer, the commissioner of the interior, the commissioner of agriculture and labor, and the commissioner of health being appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of Porto Rico.

The powers, duties, and obligations of each of all these executive officials are specifically set out and provided in this law, and will not be repeated here. Attention, however, must be called to the very extraordinary powers given to the commissioner of education, who not only has authority to superintend public instruction throughout the Island, but all proposed disbursements on account thereof must be approved by him, and all courses of study must be "prepared" by him, subject to disapproval by the governor if he desires to act. The commissioner of education is also to prepare rules governing the selection of teachers, and their appointment by local school boards is to be subject to his approval.

The reasons of these provisions are not indeed very apparent; but a clue to their discovery may be found, perhaps, in the fact that under the old Foraker Act the educational policy of the Island was under the practical control of American officials through a constant majority of Americans in the Executive Council; whereas, under the present organic act, this control, except for the terms of the above provisions, would pass to the hands of Porto Ricans through the Legislative Assembly which is entirely composed of Porto Ricans and should have competent jurisdiction to regulate these matters. It would seem therefore, that the idea was to preserve the control of the educational policy of the Island in the hands of an American official.

There is no doubt, therefore, that this idea may have been inspired in the belief that an American educator appointed by the president for this office would probably be better qualified than any Porto Rican for the all important task of mapping out an educational policy which should promote a rapid Americanization of the Island and its inhabitants. For this purpose, it seems to have been the idea of Congress that the said official should not be handicapped in his plans by the interference of the local legislators whose points of view in respect to pedagogical and Americanization matters might not be entirely in accord with those of the said official.

It would seem, however, that there are involved in this matter a good many questions which undoubtedly require a proper

regard for the opinions and sentiments of the Porto Rican people; furthermore, in dealing with Porto Rico's problems in a spirit of fairness and justice, the fact should not be forgotten that the unprecedented success of the American administration in the Island, not only in this all important matter of education, but also in all other matters pertaining to the government of Porto Rico, has been made possible by the constant and efficient collaboration of Porto Ricans, and it is indeed rather unjust and impolitic to discourage their collaboration in a matter which is so near to their hearts and so important for their future progress and development. This policy of exclusion can arouse nothing but resentment, opposition, and distrust. In regard to such an important matter for the Porto Rican people as public education is, no one can be more interested than the Porto Rican people themselves. This has been shown beyond the pale of a reasonable doubt by their unequivocal and resolute determination to place education above everything else in Porto Rico. The question of Americanization is perhaps premature, at least in so far as American public opinion has not as yet crystallized as to the future destiny of Porto Rico; and to place this serious matter of education in the hands of a single man unacquainted with Porto Rican conditions and needs, just because he must be an American, entails the risk of mere experimenting, and the difficulty with this is that neither Porto Rico nor the United States can indulge in this sort of thing, as experiments are generally costly and in the long run may retard the educational advancement of the Island. In this connection it may not be entirely amiss to consider also that the expenses of public education in Porto Rico are not paid, as many assume to believe, out of the Treasury of the United States, but are defrayed by the public treasury of the Island. On the other hand, Congress might render a much greater service to Porto Rico and promote the cause of a rapid Americanization of the Island more efficiently by appropriating an adequate sum of money—say, four or five million dollars every year—to help the Porto Rican educational establishment, for the construction of new school houses in the rural districts and small towns, and to increase the number of

teachers, which is what Porto Rico most urgently needs in this respect.

There is also created by this act an auditor, appointed by the president of the United States, who has the general control of all accounts pertaining to revenues and receipts, from whatever source, of the government of Porto Rico and of the municipal governments of the Island. It is the duty of this official whose office is under the general supervision of the governor, among other things, to bring to the attention of the proper administrative officer, expenditures of funds or property which, in his opinion, are irregular, unnecessary, excessive, or extravagant, and his decisions are final, except that any person aggrieved by this action or decision in the settlement of his account or claim may take an appeal to the governor within a specified time. The decision of the governor in such cases is final, subject to such right of action as may be otherwise provided by law. This provision would seem to be in keeping with the general treasury policy of the United States by which the decision of the auditor is subject to revision by the controller of the treasury, whose decision is final, the governor, in the case of Porto Rico assuming the rôle of the controller of the treasury, and the aggrieved party having the right to sue, if that should be allowed by the Legislature of Porto Rico, or general law. It is to be observed, however, that in the matter of allowing or refusing to allow money to be drawn from the Porto Rican Treasury upon his own interpretation of existing laws, there is always the danger of a too narrow construction of the organic law of the Island by the auditor, in respect to the appropriation powers of the local legislature under the said law, and the consequent conflict of opinion and friction between him and the said legislature. This has been already shown in several instances, and will probably continue to be shown in many others, unless some effective means are devised to prevent its repetition.

There is also created by this law an executive secretary who is to be appointed by the governor and whose executive duties greatly resemble those of the secretary of Porto Rico under the old law, except that in the case of absence or of accidental vacancy

in the office of governor, he is not the official to assume its place, but the president may from time to time designate the head of an executive department of Porto Rico to act as governor in such a case.

A further characteristic feature of the Jones-Shafroth Act is as already suggested, the creation of an elective Senate which is to exercise all of the purely legislative functions which belonged to the old Executive Council under the Foraker Act, including confirmation of appointments and such other powers and authority as are conferred upon it by the present Organic Act. As to the House of Representatives it is now established much along the same lines as in the former law. The qualifications for membership in the Senate are not at all restrictive, the only provision in this respect being that "no person shall be a member of the Senate of Porto Rico who is not over thirty years of age, and who is not able to read and write either the Spanish or English language, and who has not been a resident of Porto Rico for at least two consecutive years, and, except in the case of Senators at large, an actual resident of the senatorial district from which chosen for a period of at least one year prior to his election". The same provision practically applies to membership in the House of Representatives except that the age limit is fixed at twenty-five instead of thirty years as in the Senate; and the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, are the sole judges of the elections, returns, and qualifications of their members, and exercise all the powers with respect to their proceedings which usually appertain to parliamentary legislative bodies.

The electoral franchise or suffrage under this law is subject to a double provision, dealing with the first election held pursuant to this act, when the qualified electors were those having the qualifications of voters under the old laws,²⁹ and with successive elections when the voters shall be citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age or over and have such additional qualifications as may be prescribed by the Legislature of Porto Rico,

²⁹ See above pp. 562-563 and notes 15 and 16.

with the proviso that no property qualification shall ever be imposed upon or required of any voter.

The Legislature under this law is to meet biennially for an unlimited period, but there are some provisions relating to the salaries of its members which would seem to tend to limit its sessions to a period of ninety days. The governor, however, may call special sessions of the Legislature or of the Senate at any time when in his opinion the public interest may so require, but no special session is to extend beyond the period of ten days, and no measure can be considered at such session other than that specified in the call.

Respecting the legislative powers there are to be found a good many restrictions which are deemed by many Porto Ricans to be quite unnecessary and even a curtailment of the powers enjoyed by the Legislature under the old Foraker Act. On the whole, however, these restrictions, in many cases will be found in the last analysis to be quite salutary and wise. As to others it may be said that they are the result of mere prejudice or of a lack of real information as to the actual conditions prevailing in the Island.

As to the veto power the provisions of this act are worthy of special notice, because they involve quite a departure from the generally accepted theory of that power. The pertinent portion of those provisions are as follows:

. . . . No bill shall become a law until it be passed in each house by a majority yea-and-nay vote of all of the members belonging to such house and entered upon the journal and be approved by the governor within ten days thereafter. If when a bill that has been passed is presented to the governor for his signature he approves the same, he shall sign it; or if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the house in which it originated, which house shall enter his objections at large on its journal and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of all the members of that house shall agree to pass the same it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of all the members of that house it shall be sent to the governor, who, in case he shall then not approve, shall transmit the

same to the President of the United States. The vote of each house shall be by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting for and against shall be entered on the journal. If the President of the United States approves the same he shall sign it and it shall become a law. If he shall not approve same he shall return it to the governor so stating, and it shall not become a law; *Provided*, That the President of the United States shall approve or disapprove an Act submitted to him under the provisions of this section within ninety days from and after its submission for his approval; and if not approved within such time it shall become a law the same as if it had been specifically approved. If any bill presented to the governor contains several items of appropriation of money, he may object to one or more of such items, or any part or parts, portion or portions thereof, while approving of the other portion of the bill. In such case he shall append to the bill, at the time of signing it, a statement of the items, parts or portions thereof to which he objects, and the appropriation so objected to shall not take effect. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, it shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by adjournment prevents its return, in which case it shall be a law if signed by the governor within thirty days after receipt by him; otherwise it shall not be a law. All laws enacted by the Legislature of Porto Rico shall be reported to the Congress of the United States as provided in section twenty-three of this Act, which hereby reserved the power and authority to annul the same.

So far as referring the bill to the president in the case of a disagreement between the governor and the Legislature is concerned, this provision is the result of a compromise. As it will be remembered, under the old Foraker Act the veto power had merely the effect of suspending the passage of a law until the legislature should have an opportunity to reconsider the measure upon the reasons submitted by the governor, but that at all events the bill was to become a law if the legislature persisted in its adoption as such in spite of the objections made to it by the executive. In the original drafting of the new organic act it was proposed to give to the governor power to veto absolutely any law that he should see fit against the wishes of the Legislature. In support of this absolute veto power in the governor

it was contended that under the old Foraker Act the legislative power was partly in the hands of the Executive Council which could be more or less influenced by the governor and which until later years was effectively controlled by Americans whereas the said legislative power was now vested in the Legislature of Porto Rico which must be entirely controlled by Porto Ricans by reason of its being elective, and therefore that some check must be created to prevent any misuse or abuse of those powers. Aside from the unreasonableness and prejudice of this contention, it was argued on the other side that this absolute veto power in the governor would render nugatory all the legislative powers of the Porto Rican Legislature and place them virtually into the hands of the governor who could by the exercise of this autocratic veto power impose entirely his will, in all legislative matters, upon the people, and thereby cause great dissatisfaction, unrest, and even conflicts of a very serious nature. To this it may be added that in view of the honorable and successful legislative record of Porto Ricans in the House of Representatives, which has been entirely Porto Rican since the establishment of the civil government of Porto Rico under the Foraker Act, and in the Executive Council at least since they were in majority in that body, there should not have been any cause for misapprehension, prejudice, or mistrust. But the reactionary elements were bent on prevailing at all events, and thus, those who better understood the character, patriotism, ability, and temper of the Porto Rican people, although fully realizing the injustice and impracticability of the thing, suggested, as a compromise, that in case of the said disagreement between the governor and the Legislature of the Island, the measure in dispute should be referred to the president of the United States. This somewhat resembles the procedure under the old Spanish autonomy.

It would be quite interesting to follow step by step the discussion of all this section of the Jones-Shafroth Act referring to the veto-power and approval or disapproval of the laws enacted by the Legislature in accordance with the assumed purpose of the act to give a larger measure of self-government to the Island, but such a discussion would be quite impracticable from the

standpoint of space. Attention, however, will be called to the anomalous feature relating to the budget of receipts and expenditures, which is to be prepared and submitted to the Legislature by the governor as the basis for the ensuing biennial appropriation bill. It will be noticed that when this bill is presented to him for his signature he may object to one or more of the items of appropriation, or any part or parts thereof, while approving the other portions of the bill, so that those items which he disapproves shall not take effect. To any unprejudiced and liberal mind this must necessarily appeal as a glaring outrage, for under these provisions the governor is empowered practically to dictate a budget of receipts and expenditures to the Porto Rican people, without the sanction of their Legislature.

Worthy of notice are also the provisions of this act creating a public service commission, consisting of the heads of executive departments, the auditor and two elective commissioners. This commission is to make all grants of franchises, rights, and privileges of a public or quasi public nature, and is also empowered and directed to discharge all the executive functions relating to public service corporations theretofore conferred by law upon the old executive council. Franchises, rights, and privileges granted by the said commission are not effective until approved by the governor, and they are to be reported to congress, which reserves the power to annul or modify the same.

As to Porto Rican representation in Congress the provisions of this act resemble those of the old Foraker Act relating to the subject except that the term of incumbency for the resident commissioner shall be four years, and no person is to be eligible to election as such resident commissioner who is not a *bona fide* citizen of the United States, and who is less than twenty-five years of age, instead of thirty as under the Foraker Act. And in case of a vacancy in the office of resident commissioner by death, resignation, or otherwise, the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate is to appoint a substitute for the unexpired term. This later provision is an improvement upon the Foraker Act, as under that law, in case of an accidental . vacancy in the office of resident commissioner, there was no

provision made for filling it until the next election. This precisely happened while the Jones-Shafroth Act was pending owing to the premature death of the incumbent, the Honorable Luis Muñoz Rivera, when Porto Rico was entirely bereft of official representation in Congress until the election, nearly one year later, of the present incumbent under the Jones-Shafroth Act.

It seems almost incredible that the representation of Porto Rico should not have been increased under this act but left in the same condition as before, namely, limited to a single resident commissioner, when the Island has a population of nearly a million and a quarter of inhabitants which is larger than double, triple, and even quadruple the population of some states of the union. And when this representation is compared with sixteen Representatives and three Senators which Porto Rico was entitled, under the Spanish rule, to send to the *Cortes* of the Kingdom of Spain, it would seem that the Jones-Shafroth Act might have been a little more generous and considerate of the sentiments of the islanders and accord to Porto Rico one or two more delegates with seats and voice in both houses of Congress until a definite solution should be given to the Porto Rican problem.

As to the Judicial Department, it may be said that the Jones-Shafroth Act leaves its organization practically as it was under the former organic law, except that the jurisdiction of the federal court is so modified and enlarged as to extend to and embrace all controversies where all of the parties on either side of the controversy are citizens or subjects of a foreign state or states, or citizens of a state, territory, or district of the United States not domiciled in Porto Rico, wherein the matter in dispute exceeds, exclusive of interest or costs, the sum or value of three thousand dollars, and of all controversies in which there is a separable controversy involving such jurisdictional amount and in which all of the parties on either side of such separable controversy are citizens or subjects of the character aforesaid. Although a great deal of opposition has been manifested in the Island³⁰ against this extraordinary jurisdiction of the federal

³⁰ See statements of Señor Rodríguez Serra and Señor Barceló in *Hearings before the Com. on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico*, U. S. 56th Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 1217, pp. 33, 44.

court, it cannot be denied that it is quite in keeping with the principles involved in the diverse citizenship clause in the constitution of the United States, a principle most salutary and beneficent, especially so in the case of Porto Rico, if it is intended to overcome the objections and legitimate desires of all such Americans and foreigners who have not as yet, by long and permanent residence in the Island, become acquainted with general conditions there and acquired an implicit reliance on the wisdom and absolute integrity of the Porto Rican courts.

On the whole it may be said with respect to this act that its general provisions constitute quite a large improvement on the old Foraker Act, especially with respect to the status of Porto Ricans, the divisions of governmental powers, the establishment of an elective Senate and a public service commission, although the powers of the latter are perhaps a little excessive and in some respects might have been placed in the hands of the Legislature of the Island.

The powers of the governor are no doubt unnecessarily excessive, specially, with respect to the veto power, which in its present form is practically absolute, since an appeal to the president will seldom if ever be taken by the legislature for reasons which will be quite obvious to any impartial observer of matters of this kind. It may be conjectured, however, that these powers of the governor may become a harmless weapon in his hand if he realizes the self-evident proposition that Porto Rican problems are not always susceptible of an American solution but as a general rule must be worked out and solved by the Porto Ricans themselves in a Porto Rican way, and that his mission at least in such cases, is more in the nature of a steadyng power, a sort of regulator in local conflicts of opinion and opposite views, his rôle as a rule being that of a friendly adviser and counselor rather than that of a dictator or overbearing schoolmaster bent on imposing his own personal views based on a purely American conception of the situation in hand; otherwise there will be always the danger of unnecessary misunderstandings and friction between the governor and the Legislature of the Island. Thus far, however, whenever any controversy has arisen between them

it has been completely smoothed out, owing in the first place to the patriotic spirit animating all the elements concerned, and then to the level headedness of both Governor Yager and the leaders of the Legislature of Porto Rico, without regard to party politics, who have united in a commendable effort to collaborate and work together, with the greatest possible harmony, for the complete success of this new experiment in self government for the Island.

In conclusion, it may be observed that under the provisions of this act, a large share of the government of the Island is placed in the hands of the Porto Ricans themselves, and as the president, in the exercise of the appointing powers granted to him by this law, may if he so deem it advisable and proper, select Porto Ricans for the office of governor, attorney general, commissioner of education, auditor, and all other appointive positions entrusted to his judgment and discretion to fill by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or otherwise, it is apparent that a much larger measure of self-government may be confided to Porto Ricans under this law.³¹ In this sense, therefore, this act while still conservative may yet be made much

³¹ There is at the present time a strong movement in Porto Rico in favor of having the President appoint a Porto Rican for the office of Attorney General and another for Governor of Porto Rico. As to the office of Governor of the Island, it may be said that while some Porto Rican politicians insist that it should be made an elective office, others more conservative or less sanguine of radical changes, would prefer to make haste slowly and experiment first by having a Porto Rican appointed instead of an American as heretofore. The advantages of following this procedure at least for a time are quite obvious and should not be disregarded. Any unprejudiced observer can readily see that, by appointing a Porto Rican for this office a high compliment would be paid to the ability and preparation of Porto Ricans for self government, while at the same time the Porto Rican Governor would be placed beyond the reach and control of the political parties of the Island, and thus while the chances for corruption and abuse of power would be minimized, he could feel entirely at liberty to act independently from party politics and do as he should see fit in accordance with the duties of his office and the dictates of his conscience. The people on the other hand would continue to regard this office as the highest representation of American sovereignty besides the flag, and at the same time would learn to regard him not only as the personification of the highest Porto Rican executive authority in the Island, but also as the emblem of Porto Rican capacity for self government.

more liberal by the action of the president, to whom, therefore, Porto Ricans must look in this respect for a substantial increase of their share in the government of the Island, at least for the present, until Congress shall see fit to legislate less conservatively and more liberally for Porto Rico.

PEDRO CAPÓ-RODRÍGUEZ.

GERMAN POLITICAL DESIGNS WITH REFERENCE TO BRAZIL¹

This article purports to be a brief, extensive sketch of German political designs with reference to Brazil—the reason for their being, the means employed for their realization, and the reasons for their failure. The article concludes with a brief statement of the influence these designs had in determining Brazil's rôle in the present Great War.

German political designs with reference to Brazil had root in an economic and a political dream. These two dreams came into aggressive being simultaneously in the '90's as the result of the sudden outburst of national energy which followed the war of 1870.

By the end of the nineteenth century Germany had outgrown itself economically. Its rapid increase of population and its extraordinary development of industries dependent upon the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured commodities destroyed German self sufficiency and forced Germany to look out over the world for some resource to offset the handicap of restricted territory. As Professor Wagner, a prominent Berlin economist, said: "The most important task Germany has to perform in the future consists in obtaining control of regions where raw products necessary to her life and industry are produced".² The creation of a Greater Germany across the sea, self-feeding, self-sufficient, and shut out

¹ This paper, prepared in my seminar at the University of California, makes no pretense of being a thorough survey of the subject of which it treats. In particular it has not drawn upon German sources. It is merely a seminar report, but as it gives an excellent summary of periodical articles in English and some works in French, it has seemed worth while to offer it to the readers of the *Review*.—C. E. CHAPMAN.

² "Germany and Pan Germany," in *Contemporary Review* (New York, July, 1903), LXXXIV. 173-188. This article gives an excellent account of Germany's economic position in the world and German aims.

to all foreign trade therefore became the dream of German economists.

Writings of all sorts and conditions of Germans pointed to South America, particularly Brazil, as the "land of promise", the land where this Greater Germany might rise and render Germany economically independent of other countries, might provide it with raw materials and secure its position as a great world power.³ Brazil looked more attractive than other lands because that country was sparsely settled, had immense material resources, had a healthful climate, and was poorly governed, but primarily because it had already received a large influx of German immigrants.⁴ Dr. Herman Leyser, an enthusiastic German traveler, in his recently published book about Santa Catharina said in regard to these immigrants: "Nowhere are our colonies, those loyal offshoots from the mother root, so promising as here. Today in these provinces over 30 per cent of the inhabitants are German or of German descent and the ratio of their natural increase far exceeds that of the Portuguese. Surely to us belongs the future of this part of the world. . . . Here indeed in South Brazil is a land where the German emigrant may retain his nationality, where for all that is comprised in the word 'Germanismus' a glorious future smiles".⁵

Professor Schmoller, a prominent lecturer on political economy at the Berlin University, in the first volume of *Handels und Machtpolitik* wrote: "We must desire that at all cost a German

³ *The Pan Germanic Doctrine* (ed. by Percy W. Bunting, London and New York, 1904), p. 261. This book is an anonymous study of German political aims and aspirations. It is probably the best book on the above subject on account of its translations of many pertinent original documents and speeches, and its full discussion of German colonization in South America.

⁴ J. Holland Rose, *The Origins of the War, 1871-1914* (London and New York, 1915), p. 54. This gives a clear outline of conditions leading to the Great War, valuable for the above subject on account of its explanation of the sudden outburst of German energy.

⁵ Stephen Bonsal, "Greater Germany in South America," in *North American Review* (New York, January, 1903), CLXXVI. 58-67. This is an excellent article on German activity in South America, written by a newspaper correspondent (who, as it happens, was with Hindenberg's army on the east front in 1915). It gives helpful information concerning German exploring expeditions in Brazil, and activity in Germany, favoring the colonizing movement.

country containing some 20 to 30 million Germans may grow in the twentieth century in Brazil, and that, no matter whether it remains a portion of Brazil or becomes a self-containing state or enters into close relations with our empire. Unless our connection with Brazil is always secured by ships of war and unless Germany is able to exercise pressure there, our development is threatened".⁶

An anonymous writer in *Die Grenzboten*, by far the most influential political weekly in Germany,⁷ advocated the concentration of German effort upon the three states, Parana, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, in Brazil, where German colonists were most numerous and most flourishing, saying: "As soon as Germany has drawn South Brazil within her sphere of interest, she can offer emigrants an absolute guarantee that their interests will be safe guarded. A colonial army should be organized among the settlers so that they need not return to Germany to perform their military service. Then in a few years a young German colonial empire will grow up there as mighty as, if not mightier than, any other that ever emanated from Europe".⁸

Many other Germans wrote in a similar vein, but in addition to these writers, the great German colonizing concerns, the Hanseatic Colonizing Company of Hamburg and the German Colonial Society of Berlin, had for their avowed purpose the creation of a German nation in Brazil. These concerns had become lords and masters of over 8000 square miles of Brazilian territory. This land they aimed to people with immigrants willing to be kept German, to perpetuate the German language and German customs, and to maintain an unyielding loyalty to German economic hopes. They sent out whole libraries of material in the form of pamphlets, maps, and newspaper publi-

⁶ *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 239.

⁷ J. Ellis Barker, *Modern Germany* (3 ed., London, 1909), p. 139. In this book J. Ellis Barker, an English journalist and author, clearly sets forth Germany's political and economic problems, its foreign and domestic policy, its ambitions and the causes of its success. The volume contains a brief summary of German activity in Brazil and some valuable information about prominent German writers and German periodicals.

⁸ *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 242.

cations each vieing with the other in painting Brazil as the land of the glorious future. They had public lectures delivered from time to time, dwelling upon the desirabilities of Germanizing Brazil.⁹ The German Colonial Society alone published the Colonial *Zeitschrift*, a weekly, maintained a permanent museum of the colonies in Berlin, promoted a tropical proving ground in Hamburg and a school of agriculture in Wilhemshof, and founded in many of the colleges chairs for the propagation of colonial knowledge and languages.¹⁰

But German writers and German colonizing concerns were not the only ones to see in Brazil the "land of promise." There were the industrialists in general, shipbuilders, iron and steel manufacturers, owners of textile mills, etc., who had visions of a time when coal, iron, copper, petroleum, rubber, and cotton from a land worked and owned by Germans, namely Brazil, should furnish an endless supply of raw stuffs. There were finally Germany's growing millions, compelled to import 20 per cent of their sustenance, who had visions of a "horn of plenty—corn, sugar, coffee, cocoa, rice, filled in Brazil from Germanized soil".¹¹

Thus Brazil glowed as the "land of promise" in Germany's economic dream of a Greater Germany across the sea. She also played a part in Germany's political dream—Pangermanism.

Pangermanism was no new notion, for generations of students had enthusiastically intoned the famous line at the end of Arndt's national song of 1813, "*Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein*",¹² but in the '90s, under the uniquely-stimulating influence of Wilhelm II, it became the dominant ideal of the German race.¹³ He gave formal expression to this ideal in 1896 when he said: "Out

⁹ Frederick William Wile, "German Colonization in Brazil", in *Fortnightly Review* (New York, January, 1906), LXXXV. 129. This is an excellent article of German activity in Brazil, full of concrete detail. Its author was the resident Berlin correspondent of the New York and Chicago dailies for ten years preceding the war.

¹⁰ Bonsal, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Wile, *op. cit.*

¹² Rose, p. 64.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

of the German empire a world empire has arisen. Everywhere in all parts of the earth thousands of our countrymen reside. German riches, German knowledge, German activity make their way across the ocean. The value of German possessions on the seas is some thousands of millions. Gentlemen, the serious duty devolves on you to help me link this Greater German Empire close to the home country by helping me in complete unity to fulfill my duty towards the Germans in foreign parts.”¹⁴

In brief, the idea of PanGermanism seems to have been “the welding together and consolidating the Germans in Europe and across the seas ethnologically, economically, and even politically so that where the German language is spoken there too may German interests and authority be paramount”.¹⁵ But André Cheradame, an authority on PanGermanism, having made a study of it for twenty-two years, claims that it had for its aim “not only to annex regions inhabited by masses of Germans on the border of the empire, not only to gather within the same political fold peoples who are more or less German by origin, but to annex all regions, irrespective of race or language, of which the possession is deemed useful to the power of the Hohenzollerns”.¹⁶ He says further that the doctrine is composed of both economic and political cupidity. It is a scheme of piracy to be carried on for the Prussian monarchy. Its object is by successive and indefinite expansions of territory to include within the same boundaries at first economically, but afterwards politically, such land and such peoples as are likely to prove a profitable possession to the Hohenzollerns themselves and to the support of German aristocracy.¹⁷ He quotes as proof Richard Tannenberg’s book, *Grosse-Deutschland die Arbeit des 20. Jahrhunderts*

¹⁴ *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁶ Cheradame, *The Pan Germanic Plot Unmasked* (transl. and ed. by Lady Fraser, London, 1917), p. 2. The author aims in this book to prove that the PanGerman plot is the dominating cause of the war. She makes special use of *Grosse-Deutschland die Erbeit des 20. Jahrhunderts*, drawing the conclusion from this and other German documents that Germany had political designs with reference to South America. It is an excellent and helpful exposé of Germany’s plans.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

(Greater Germany Work of the 20th Century) which appeared in Leipzig in 1911. This book contains the exact program of annexations to be made in Europe and Turkey by 1950, and also the exact enumerations of protectorates to be established in South America by that date.¹⁸

"Germany," Tannenberg said, "takes under her protection the Republics of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, the south third of Bolivia, as far as South Brazil in which German culture is dominant." "German South America," he concludes, "will provide for us in the temperate zone a colonial region where our emigrants will be able to settle as farmers. Chili and Argentina will preserve their language and autonomy. But we shall require that in the schools German shall be taught as a second language. South Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay are countries of German culture. German will there be the national tongue."¹⁹

Thus Brazil played a part in a political as well as an economic dream. The logical antecedent to Germany's means of realizing these dreams is to be found in the fortunes of her colonization in Brazil. German emigration to Brazil dates from the year 1825 when colonies were founded in Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul at the invitation of the Brazilian government. At first Brazil was open only to Portuguese immigrants, but realizing that it was necessary to counterbalance the black population by the importation of white people and that Portugal was incapable of sending a sufficiently large number of colonists to do this, the government under Dom Pedro I. opened the country to immigrants other than Portuguese.²⁰ As an inducement this government provided passage for immigrants, transported them on arrival far into the country, and provided them the first year with a sum of money to be paid back when the first harvests were gathered.²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁰ E. Tonnelat, *L'Expansion Allemande hors d'Europe* (Paris, 1908), pp. 92-94. This book contains articles on German expansion to the United States, Brazil, Chantung, and South Africa. The article on Brazil is particularly valuable on account of its concrete discussion of the first colonies in Brazil.

²¹ *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 273.

In 1849 the Hamburg Colonizing Association founded a colony in Donna Francisca on the northern boundary of Santa Catharina and a few years later the Blumenau colony was founded by Dr. Blumenau of Brunswick.²² Had Germany been awake to its opportunities then, South Brazil might now have been peopled by millions of well-to-do German farmers, but by the Von der Heydt rescript of 1859 Germany closed South America to German immigrants and therefore lost its great chance. As a result of this edict Von der Heydt, the Prussian minister, prohibited all propaganda in favor of immigration.²³ Therefore in 1874, when Brazil appealed to Germany to direct immigration there, no response was made. Italy, however, when asked, sent thousands. This bill was repealed in 1896. Germany, realizing its great mistake, tried to make it good, and just at the time when other nations were tacitly bowing to the Monroe Doctrine, began to organize its activity in Brazil.²⁴ The German program comprised, (1) the colonization of South Brazil with settlers who should remain German in language, trade, ideals, and surroundings; (2) the expansion of German commercial, industrial, and financial activity, with control of the means of communication both inland and oceanic; (3) the abandonment or modification of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States, which would then permit German economic predominance to be turned to political account without war.²⁵

As regards the first part of this program Germany was ideally successful, as is shown by the following statement in the *Sudamerikanische Rundschau*, a Berlin paper devoted exclusively to the furtherance of German interests in South America. "North America is not fitted for a rational emigration, for there the peculiarities, language, and customs of the Germans, in other words Germanism, are lost by way of assimilation. There the

²² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

²³ Edgardo de Magalhaes, "Germany and South America," in *Nineteenth Century and after* (New York, January, 1917), LXXXI. 67-80. This article, representing the opinion of a Brazilian, gives a valuable concrete discussion of Germany's activities in South America.

²⁴ *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 273.

²⁵ Wile, *op. cit.*

relations of the emigrant with the mother country are dissolved; there he even promotes competition with the agriculture and industry of his own native country. It is not so in South America particularly in South Brazil. There German nationality is preserved; there conditions for a prosperous existence are better; there the German emigrant becomes a consumer of German products of industry and in this way becomes an intermediary of commercial and political relations between his new home and his mother country.”²⁶

In South Brazil Germans became the leading citizens, being found everywhere as local officials, merchants, pastors, teachers, and artisans.²⁷ Germans practically populated the state of Santa Catharina. There one heard five times more German spoken than Portuguese and saw such advertisements as “For sale, first class land, on easy terms to Germans only.”²⁸ In numerous communities where this German element was practically exclusive, German self-government existed. Road building, irrigation, and general public utilities were all under German supervision, and Germans were even permitted to maintain a system of taxation for the support of exclusive German schools and churches. There were several hundred of these schools in South America, twenty in Santa Catharina alone. In Germany, the “Society for the Perpetuation of the German Language Abroad” devoted funds to the endowment of these schools, churches, and libraries in Brazil. Only in the external affairs of the municipalities was it apparent that the country was Brazilian.²⁹

The German Mutual Protection Society, membership in which was open to all persons of the German race, was an important

²⁶ “German Expansion”, in *Outlook* (New York, May, 1901), LCVIII. 15001. This article in discussing German expansion quotes from an unnamed Berlin newspaper and the *Deutsche Post*, both quotations proving valuable for the above.

²⁷ Wile, *op. cit.*

²⁸ C. N. Mackintosh, “German Aims in Southern Brazil”, in *South American* (New York, November, 1917). This article, which is taken from the *River Plate Observer*, treats of the growth of the German colonies, their loyalty to their native country, and the possibility of a South American German empire.

²⁹ Wile, *op. cit.* and Tonnellat, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

organization in cementing the German element in Brazil and in fostering a feeling of unity among Germans.³⁰ This feeling was further fostered by Lutheran pastors who came from Germany, remained a few years, and, preaching a gospel of the divine right of the emperor, carried on a German national movement, as well as by local German newspapers edited and managed by Germans, but more especially by the German clubs, the Vereinen and the inevitable rifle clubs.³¹ Incidentally these clubs became the controlling centers of well-organized propaganda, and, carefully nurtured by the imperial government, proved a powerful aid in furthering the aims of the Fatherland.³² After the outbreak of the Great War it was proved that these rifle clubs constituted a real military organization destined for future conquest. Indeed 80,000 rifles were confiscated by the government.³³

The final aid to German nationalism was the Delbrück law, formulated by Hans Delbrück, a distinguished professor of history at Berlin,³⁴ and promulgated July 2, 1913. It is stated in the preamble that "this law was made for the need of those who relinquished their nationality in order to earn their living in other countries." The second part of article 25 stated that "if any person before acquiring nationality in a foreign state shall have received the written permission of a competent authority of his native state to retain his nationality of that state he shall not lose his nationality of the said native state. The German consul shall be consulted before granting the said permission." Thus by this provision a German could become a naturalized subject of a foreign state and at the same time enjoy for himself and his descendants all the rights of a German citizen and all the protection of the German empire.³⁵

³⁰ *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 286.

³¹ Magalhaes, *op. cit.*

³² Brasfortlu, "Germany and South Brazil", in *The Spectator* (London, October, 1918), CXVI. 375-376. This article gives a brief and clear exposition of Germany in Brazil from 1892 to after the outbreak of the Great War, showing by its concrete detail the aggressiveness and cupidity of the Germans.

³³ Magalhaes, *op. cit.*

³⁴ Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

³⁵ Chératadame, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Thus German nationality was secured in South Brazil and success in the first part of the German program in that country ideally realized. Germany was equally successful with the second part of its program, namely, commercial, industrial, and financial expansion. Acting upon the idea that the control of communications was the most effective guarantee of economic predominance, Germany secured control of the Brazilian carrying trade. Its three great lines, the Hamburg American, the North German Lloyd, and the Hamburg South American Steam Ship Company divided the Atlantic frontage of Brazil into well defined, non-conflicting sections and centralized commerce in their hands.³⁶ Germany also secured a monopoly of tonnage, lighterage, and water transportation in general, and attempted to secure control of inland communications by sending out numerous exploring expeditions, which were to be followed by the construction of pioneer railways. Dr. Karl Von Steinen's expedition into West Brazil was of this type, for it was followed up by the construction of the Rio Grande Northwest Railway.³⁷ It has been suggested that this latter activity was strongly reminiscent of the devices used by Russia to break the way for political aggrandisement along the Russo-Asiatic frontier.³⁸

Through German banking houses, especially the Brazilian Bank of Germany, Germany considerably developed its trade and industry in Brazil. In all the busy trade centers of Central and North, as well as South, Brazil, the German flag waved over important commercial establishments whose headquarters were either in Berlin or Hamburg.³⁹ In short, Germany entered every field of economic activity in Brazil and was preëminent in most.

Having secured national and economic predominance in South Brazil, Germany revealed the next step in a significant editorial

³⁶ Wile, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Bonsal, *op. cit.*

³⁸ Frederick Austin Ogg, "German Interests and Tendencies in South America", in *World's Work* (New York, March, 1903), I, p. 169. This is a comprehensive sketch of German designs with reference to South America. It gives a detailed and particularly significant interpretation of the German exploring expeditions in South America.

³⁹ Wile, *op. cit.*

in the *Deutsche Post*, "we observe that a love for the individual states is growing at the expense of Brazil's unity. We should not wonder if, especially in consequence of mal-administration at Rio Janeiro, the Federal capital, the states of Parana, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul at least some day should declare for secession and independence. Then a new outlook would be open to Germany."⁴⁰ Thus a situation might have arisen in which these states would suddenly consider themselves misgoverned, as the *Deutsche Post* suggested, and they would then appeal to Berlin for redress by force of arms and for future protection. Perhaps that protection could be secured only by placing the colonists and their territory under the German flag. But here Germany would encounter the Monroe Doctrine, the abandonment or modification of which formed the third and most vital part of the German program.

Germany failed in accomplishing this last part of its program, though German rulers and writers called the Monroe Doctrine an "empty pretension". Hugo Münsterberg, a professor of Harvard University, in his book, *The Americans* even cited it as the cause for a future war between the United States and Europe, saying: "The Yankee will soon realize the folly and error of his arguments. . . . If South America were set free from this tutelage, if its bearing were limited to Central America, the possibilities of a conflict between the United States and Europe would be considerably diminished".⁴¹

The Monroe Doctrine, as is well known, virtually asserted that henceforth the Americas were not to be regarded as fields for future colonization, that European countries must not extend their monarchial systems here, and that they must refrain from interfering in general with the new republics. Thus this doctrine by its very nature, backed by the force of the United States, was the greatest obstacle in the way of Germany's realizing its

⁴⁰ "German Expansion", *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Francisco García-Calderón, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress* (New York, 1915), p. 294. The author, a young Peruvian in the diplomatic service, aims to set forth in this book the entire evolution of the South American Republics. He devotes an excellent chapter to a discussion of the "German Peril", stating what it is and why it cannot be realized.

politico-economic dream of a Greater Germany in South America. Another obstacle was found in the Brazilians themselves, for they recognized in the German's determination to remain German in everything but formal citizenship a decided peril to their country. Ruy Barbosa, the great liberal of Brazil, in an address to the federal congress at Rio de Janeiro referred scathingly to this organized, unyielding foreign invasion, and alleged that through it South Brazil was undergoing gradual, but thorough, denationalization.⁴² Dr. Murtinho, the most prominent publicist in Brazil, also set forth the danger in a stirring speech, calling upon his countrymen to stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of their nationality.⁴³

Thus, although Germany dreamed of a Greater Germany in Brazil, and although that dream was realized to the extent of the German colonists becoming nationally and economically predominant, the great plan was doomed to final failure by the Monroe Doctrine, the resistance of the Brazilians, and finally by the relatively small German population in Brazil, for the 400,000 or more colonists (Parana, 60,000 Germans; Santa Catharina, 170,000; Rio Grande do Sul, 220,000) were lost in the national mass of 19,000,000 Brazilians. But the definite aspirations of Germany in Brazil proved a vital force in determining Brazil's rôle in the Great War.

At first Brazil diligently strove to maintain a policy of neutrality toward all belligerents, but this was very difficult for several reasons. In the first place the remarkable ascendancy which French culture exerted over many Brazilian thinkers was a potent influence in ranging public opinion on the side of the Allies, and this was reinforced by the entrance of the mother country, Portugal, into the war. In the second place, in Rio de Janeiro the Brazilian capital, public sentiment was overwhelmingly against the Germans. This sentiment was aggravated by rumors of wireless stations being erected on the south coast of Brazil by German sympathizers and of fishing smacks spying upon the movements of English steamships, but particularly by

⁴² Wile, *op. cit.*

⁴³ Bonsal, *op. cit.*

the German newspapers, which tried to counteract and contradict all news favorable to the Allies and freely expressed German hopes concerning Brazil in the event of a German victory.⁴⁴

The actual declaration of war was brought about by the torpedoing of the Brazilian ships *Parana* and *Macau* by German U-boats, and by the Luxburg dispatches, which revealed a plot to violate Brazilian sovereignty by consolidating the German settlement in Brazil. These dispatches were made known to the Brazilian authorities by Secretary Lansing. As is well known, they had been sent to the German foreign office by Count Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires of the Argentine Legation.⁴⁵ But perhaps the underlying and goading force back of this declaration of war was the fear that Germany would some day plant a colonial empire in Brazil, for it had long been evident that "the Hohenzollerns will begin their fight for a place in the Hispanic American sun by entering her southern province, where a colony of over 400,000 Germans, who have never allowed themselves to be Brazilian to the slightest extent, are waiting to receive the Vaterland with open arms".⁴⁶ At Rio de Janeiro no secret was made of the fact that it was for protection against Germany that the two great dreadnaughts *Minas Geraes* and *Sao Paulo* were built ten years ago and at the same time a universal military service law was enacted.⁴⁷ Ruy Barbosa in

⁴⁴ William Spence Robertson, "The Position of Brazil", in *Nation* (New York, February 22, 1917), CIV. 208-209. This is an elucidating article setting forth Brazil's quandary, whether or not to enter the Great War. It contains two interesting quotations from speeches made by Ruy Barbosa showing his realization of the German peril in Brazil after the war should the Germans prove victorious.

⁴⁵ "Brazil at War", in *New York Times Current History* (New York, December, 1917), VII. pt. I. 439-440. This article contains an account of Brazil's declaration of war, and the reproduction of two dispatches sent by Count Luxburg to the foreign office.

⁴⁶ Frederick Bliss Luquien, "Latin America and the War", in *Century Magazine* (New York, October, 1918), XCVI. 859-864. This article explains the Hispanic American Countries' attitude towards the Great War, weighing in the balance the pro-Ally elements and the pro-German elements.

⁴⁷ "Brazil's Interest in the War", in *North American Review* (New York, March, 1918), CCVII. 339-342. This article gives an excellent discussion of the German peril in Brazil and the reasons for Brazilian entrance into the war, stressing particularly the fear of Germany.

a stirring speech delivered in the municipal theater in Rio de Janeiro made these designs one basis of an appeal to the Brazilians to revoke their neutrality, saying: "The juridical questions of the present war and the burning problem of neutrality afford common ground for all America, especially South America where is found on Teutonic maps a South Germany. . . . If the Central Powers are victorious in this war the German nation, intoxicated by pride of the triumph, with Europe prostrate at her feet, will not hesitate to settle accounts with the United States and violating the Monroe Doctrine, which the United States has not the means to preserve, will proceed to obtain in South America those regions which the cartography of Pan Germanism has often designated as the natural seat of her leonine sovereignty. Such is my mature, profound, and liberal conviction".⁴⁸ Strangely enough this speech of Barbosa's echoed one made by the German Admiral Von Goetz to Admiral Dewey in 1898, in which Von Goetz said: "About fifteen years from now my country will start a great war. She will be in Paris about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real project, the crushing of England. Some months after we finish our work in Europe, we will take New York and probably Washington. . . . The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us and we will dispose of South America as we wish".⁴⁹

Thus the German element in Brazil with its aggressive pro-German propaganda and its great potentialities proved a vital factor in causing Brazil's decision to enter the war against Germany. The Great War brought German political designs with reference to Brazil well into the foreground and the issue was presented clearly and forcefully to such Brazilian leaders as Ruy Barbosa. But the realization of those designs was destroyed forever by the outcome of the conflict.

LORETTA BAUM.

⁴⁸ Robertson, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ Edward Perry, "The New World after the War", in *South American* (New York, January, 1918). This article sets forth the political, financial, and commercial problems confronting the statesmen of Hispanic America. It refers to the German designs in South America urging the reality of these designs.

The following excerpt is taken from an undated manuscript in the Library of Congress by R. Cleary, A.M., M.D., entitled "Brazil under the Monarchy. A record of Facts and Observations, From notes taken in Brazil during a period of more than twenty years". Its author, who was married to a German woman in Brazil, exercised his profession in the country, and appears to have had an excellent opportunity to study the people and country. What he says of German colonization in Brazil is of interest in connection with Miss Baum's article.—J. A. R.

Chap. III

Colonization. Foreigners in Brazil and their social status

Perhaps it is well to commence with the vital question of Colonization in Brazil under the Empire. The writers on Brazil alluded to in the last chapter as interested speculators are those who published exaggerated and glowing accounts of the country to aid the expensive and imbecile scheme of German Colonization which at an enormous and extraordinary outlay, introduced *fifty-two thousand immigrants* in *fifty-two years*; "by their fruits shall ye know them," and this *official* result ought to be enough to condemn the whole fabric, but facts and figures are too weak to force the harpy from his prey, though the Republicans, and the better classes of the land *not in the Government*, made themselves heard incessantly against the iniquitous expenditures of the public funds to fee the supporters of an effete government.

Certain contractors, such as Pinto and Holtzwessig of Porto Alegre, received from the Imperial Government fifteen dollars a head for colonists, without regard to their quality, and for a long time, so long as the speculation paid, these worthy contractors succeeded in emptying European jails (if we may believe the contemporaneous newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic), and inducing the most ignorant of the farm laborers and vagabonds of Germany to go to the Brazilian Utopia, where disappointment and disgust awaited them, and in too many cases, a life of misery and hard labor crowned their efforts to extract a living from the sterile hills, swampy bottoms, and dried plains of South Brazil. Not that there is not a great deal of fairly good land throughout that section, but it is all taken up by the natives and the newcomers have only the reversion of the *refuse* (the "*refuga*" the people called it). Nor do I mean to say that all the Germans there are of the character above stated, but the great mass of them are, and their progress proves it.

On the arrival of *Colonists*, by the regulations of the Imperial Government, they were consigned, without much choice in the matter, to the different colonies or settlements on the public domain, under the tender mercies of an *Imperial Director*, who, *according to law*, managed to keep them for years in the worst kind of servitude, I mean *debt*, working on the rudimentary roads at the cheapest rates, to assist the poor results of their agricultural labors, and thus to be able to poorly sustain their families, until no more could be squeezed from the poor colonist, when, to use the very words of the law, they were *manumitted*. Many and many times I have seen these poor men in the Colony of Taguary, and of the Cedro, and Rancho Queimado, and elsewhere, laboring on the almost vertical hillsides of the rough country of Sta. Catharina, scratching up the sparse soil to plant a few beans in order to feed their children, and all under a vertical boiling sun. It makes my heart ache to remember it. As a proof of the unfitness of the large majority of the German colonists, take the fact that in the large and much praised colony of S. Leopoldo in Rio Grande do Sul, which today counts perhaps some twenty-five thousand souls or more, though they have been settled there for more than fifty years, they have made no real progress, nor have they introduced anything new, except a wretched quality of undrinkable small beer, and a villainously sour wine, but in general plant only what they found amongst the Brazilians on their arrival, and exactly in the same *Adanioc* manner. I knew an Irishman in Porto Alegre, Scotchman he called himself, as if the latter was more honorable than the former, in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, who tried in vain to introduce amongst the Germans the general use of *ploughs*: they would not accept them, but preferred hoes and spades, and in the great majority of cases, *sticks*, to make holes with in the ground, for seeds. This remark needs explanation, and certainly our agricultural laborers will look aghast when they learn that a great part of the cultivation is performed with the *hoe*, in rare instances with the *spade*, and this only when the farmer has had his eyes opened enough to abandon the regular custom of *making a hole in the ground with a stick, dropping therein the seed, and covering it by a scrape of his foot*. It is true, as above stated, that a few, a very few, used the spade, which is but a poor substitute for that grand symbol of civilization, the last perfected work of Tubal Cain, the saviour of the world, the *plough*. Why is it that such abnormities are not found amongst us? Is it not because we are not paternally cared for by such a paternal government as that of the Empire, when

the protective system entered everywhere; nothing was too minute for it, and the colonists, or Brazilian laborers, were saved the trouble of thinking for themselves, and had to serve as contributors to the wealth of their masters. Many Brazilian gentlemen have complained to me of this state of things.

There are thousands and thousands of these people, born in the country, who speak neither the vernacular tongue of the land, nor correct German, and as a consequence, as a rule, the authorities over them were Brazilian Imperialists. They never had their due proportion of representation in the National or Provincial councils, and only once in a while, (once that I know of) a German entirely Imperialized would be elected to serve without influence. Thus they were at the mercy of agents grossly ignorant and bitterly bigoted, who despised, envied, and oppressed them, whose only recommendations were their partisanship for the monarchy. Allemão became a word of reproach, and Alle-mãozinho (*little German*, meaning a man born in the country of German parents) was always an alien even to the third generation, and was never considered equal to his Portuguese descended fellow countrymen, even when they were of the stock of slave-hunters mixed with negroes from the African coast. There are a few, alas a very few, exceptions to the above rule, where the intelligent German colonists learned the language of the land, and passed a tranquil life almost free from persecutions and disgusts; and also there were many Brazilians, better informed, and generally republicans, who fully comprehended the question, but unfortunately they could not lift the weight of governmental pressure which kept them down, and thus were totally powerless to instruct the badly disposed of their fellow countrymen, or to repress the tendencies of the ignorant that judged themselves offended in their rights and interests by the superiority of the more intelligent of the foreigners, and the preference they sometimes received from the more advanced of the natives. I say *sometimes*, for the preference was so unpopular with the masses, that it required some courage to exercise it, more indeed, than will be generally found anywhere. This state of things, of course, brought about, amongst a people held forcibly in ignorance by the government of the Empire, a steady and a sturdy opposition to foreigners, and hence immigrants were not received with open arms, not even when they were Portuguese; nor even with indifference at all times, but they too frequently encountered repulsive and insulting gestures, threatening looks, and sometimes curses, all of which I have witnessed in Porto Alegre. They

say that the foreigner goes to Brazil to "*ganhar a nosso dinheiro*" (to earn our money), a common expression which every Brazilian will recognize at once.

Besides the impotent and expensive provisions of the government for colonization, they have committed the grave error of allowing their exaggerated nationalism to become too apparent even in the legislative halls of the country. A well known and much esteemed delegate in the National Assembly, amidst the enthusiastic applause of his fellow monarchists declared that "we ought to preserve the national sentiment against foreignerism," and also that the said foreignerism "invades and smothers the country"—which burst of eloquence was utterly condemned by every Republican in the land.

Such sentiments "out-Herod Herod," and withal, there are men who tell us of the friendly hospitality of Imperial Brazil; it is perfectly absurd to so distort facts, and though the Imperialists would feign and cringe when it was to their interest or shame so to do, they felt nothing but apprehension of freer ideas from foreigners, and in consequence, a malicious repulsion, which was an eternal stopper on the progress of the land. In the words of the most respected and wealthy merchant (a German) in the Province of Sta. Catharina, "you may be a murderer, a robber, a swindler, anything, but do not be a foreigner in Brazil when you sue out a question with the government." This gentleman, together with almost all the other Germans in the provincial capital, formed a society apart, and lived as much separated from the Brazilians as possible. I have found this the practice in every part of Brazil I have visited, the foreigners forming colonies apart, and so slow was the process of amalgamation that it hardly existed at all. And here let me state that once in a while could be found a monarchist who would lift up his voice against the colonization abuses and work hard for a reform and denounce the errors or injustice of the government even in the legislative halls. Senator Jaunay was one of these bright exceptions, but even he became less enthusiastic after he became a senator.

I am today persuaded that the great mass of the Brazilians of the present generation are indifferent if not hostile to the colonists whom they need, and that they are always dissatisfied when a foreigner emerges from a lower level, and that they only wish for immigrants as substitutes for the freed slaves, to perform the hardest labor, a wish that fortunately is difficult to realize. The case could hardly be otherwise with a jealous people, whose instruction had been neglected

by the government, and who were kept in error, apparently, purposely to keep them besotted, in their docility to their grasping masters. Do not blame the poor people, blame their Imperial governors!

When the peculiar management of the German colonists daily proved more and more abortive, and it became palpable that slavery was fast dying out, in spite of the experience of more energetic races, they commenced using every effort to inflict the curse of Chinese labor upon their unhappy land.

It is hard to believe that Brazil, a country almost as large as Europe, and fairly favored by nature, was created by God and then discovered by Columbus and Cabral merely as an asylum for the offshoots of one of the smallest and most insignificant monarchies of Europe, and the descendants of the imported African negroes. That little backward monarchy is today nearly exhausted of its superfluous population, and perhaps because it is rich in colonies, it can not furnish sufficient emigrants for Brazil; the six thousand who go from there to Brazil annually form but a drop in the sea and is insignificant as a mode of increasing the population; moreover, the African fountain is happily dried up forever. As for Germany, England, Italy, France, and Austria, they have shown themselves hostile to the emigration of their subjects to Brazil, on account of the unhappy state of affairs narrated above, and because the children of those nations have derived no sterling benefit in the "land of the Holy Cross," whilst on the contrary, a fair proportion of the Portuguese immigrants have always done well, many of them exceedingly well; because they receive no favors or subsidies from the government, and besides they are more closely allied to their new fellowcountrymen than other foreigners; they assimilate with the natives more easily, they speak the same language, they have the same religion and traditions, and become the fathers of what are considered genuine Brazilians. Yet even the Portuguese have been roughly treated for the crime of being foreigners, especially and notoriously in Pernambuco. The better class of them were monarchists to a man, which is not the case with most of the other foreigners. I can not express the popular sentiment on this subject under monarchical teachings better than in the following words of a caustic sarcastic writer in Rio de Janeiro on the subject.

"The Portuguese are the only foreigners who possess well sounding names; this is what, in truth, is desired, and nothing else, except to perpetuate the State and the actual population. We want no intrusion of foreigners with barbarous names, which are less melodious than

our own; we want no people who do not belong to our own land, and above all, we do not want the children of Protestant foreigners to seat themselves with us at the banquet of fifty-three thousand dollars (public funds expended); we have advanced well enough without a deluge of intruding and unnecessary foreigners, and forward still! Let us feign to want them as heretofore, Brazil is great enough for the Brazilians!" If it were not for the black shadow of the monarchy, in a land rich enough in general if well cultivated, enormous would have been the number of emigrants to its shores, helped by favorable administration of the laws, and a friendly reception on an equal footing. If it were not so, the owner of an illustrious name would not have cried aloud in the periodical *The Aurora*, No. 3, April, 1863, against Brazil's occupation of the lowest place in the list of nations, etc., etc.

Knowing well his country and the circumstances of the case, and that the immigrants who have reached the country have failed to impel it forward on the road to a more advanced civilization, and contemplating a heterogeneous population of more than ten millions of people, and knowing to what an extent the sycophantism of the Empire benumbed progress, the intelligent writer in *The Aurora* could arrive at no other conclusion.

The wise government of the Prince von Bismarck, correctly informed in the case, prohibited the shameless seduction of the lower orders of its subjects into emigration to Brazil, under heavy penalties, and cherishing the interests of the poor people, it is to be hoped that one day such *exodi* will cease entirely.* Then the contractors tried for any and every kind of material: Russians, Tyrolese, Neapolitans, French, etc., etc., and God keep those who fall into the snares of these blood-sucking speculators.

EFFECTS OF GERMAN COLONIZATION. CHARACTER OF COLONISTS.
MUCKERS. CIVIL EMPLOYMENTS. IRISH COLONISTS. FRENCH
AND RUSSIAN COLONISTS. CHINESE LABOR. ITALIANS.

Though German colonization is in the condition I have stated, if not worse, Brazil, in spite of the narrow-minded policy of the Imperial Government, owes very much to the Germans, as many of the principal professional men, merchants, and artisans; and in the South, the best of the bad cultivators of the soil, are of that nation; and by their intelligence, industry, and talents, have made their mark so indelibly, that it

* This was written in imperial times.

is impossible to describe anything commendable there, without including the industrious people under consideration; yet as far as I have conversed with them, to a man, they condemn the odious system of colonization in practice, unless one or another who is deriving profit from speculation in the flesh and blood of his own countrymen. The only woolen goods factory in the South is in Rio Grande do Sul, and is a very large and flourishing concern which supports some hundreds of people, and is the German factory of Rheinganz & Co.

Thus much in favor of the Germans and no more, for their peculiar clannish prejudices, and unwillingness to learn of others, have ever prevented them from being successful colonists, even under the most favorable circumstances, nor as a body have they ever radically benefitted those countries to which they have emigrated.

Their one great industry is industry, but plodding industry, which in Brazil in the midst of stagnant surroundings, has not advanced one jot beyond what was its condition in the beginning, except such advancement as naturally resulted from increased numbers. Just as they introduced "Anarchists" into the United States, they introduced "Muckerism" into Brazil. The Muckers, as the respectable Germans called the fanatics, were a gang of *soi-disant* religionists who appeared in the Country of São Leopoldo in the year 1874, under the apparent leadership of a woman, named Jacobina, an old soldier, one André Tupper, and Einstfeldt, a blacksmith, though they were all moved to action by a fanatic person named Klein. This Klein had been in the United States, and failed to do well, and went to Porto Alegre, and taking advantage of the ignorance of the colonists, soon found suitable instruments and formed a new religion after the model of Johan von Leiden and Knipperdolling, and improved on Mormonism. Jacobina was Prophetess or Christ as she called herself, and the sect soon numbered more than 250 persons. They abolished marriage, and as a substitute, arranged a solemn ceremony to finish up their regular religious exercises. The lights in the temple would be extinguished, and the congregation left in utter darkness, when they would dance around the building until all was confused, when each man would seize the nearest woman for his happy partner.

In order to revenge a desertion from their sect, Einstfeldt murdered a young man in the main street of São Leopoldo in broad daylight, and fled; he, it appears, being the "Danite" of the Muckers. This was going too far, and the Imperial authorities who had all along been very indifferent about the business, sent to arrest Einstfeldt, but failed

to do so. In the end they sent 600 infantry and four pieces of artillery against the Muckers, and after losing several men and officers including their commander, this little army managed to capture all that were left alive of the twenty-seven who had resisted. Klein and Einsfeldt were tried; Klein was acquitted for want of evidence, and Einsfeldt by one of the tricks usual in Imperial Courts of Justice: there were some eight or ten witnesses who had seen him going to São Leopoldo, but he produced seventy who swore they had not seen him, and the jury was instructed to accept this testimony, and it did so and acquitted him. This was Muckerism.

The only public employment open to men of foreign birth in South Brazil was that of Surveyor of the Colonial Lands, who were charged also with opening the mule tracks called roads in the colonies. These positions are mostly filled by Germans who united with some of their Brazilian colleagues and made war on all other foreigners, except now and then a Frenchman who, having family connections amongst the people of the country, could not be ousted.

Perhaps I may appear somewhat discursive, but I am taking the facts from my notes as they come, and they will as well be understood thus as in a better form.

In the Province of Santa Catharina there are colonies or parts of colonies, which have been abandoned, as the land is very mountainous, heavily wooded and without proper communications, and the soil not being more than of a very ordinary quality, only with the most severe labor will it yield a bare subsistence to those who work it. When the land is more flat, it is subject to floods frequently, and the whole country swarms with vermin, such as ants, rats, locusts, birds, etc., and so it goes. Besides these drawbacks colonists and their families, men, but generally women and children were frequently murdered by the Indians: not a year passed without several of those cases occurring, yet the Imperial Government serenely smiled indifferent to the suffering and misery of its own guests. I remember a peculiarly touching case at Taguary: a poor colonist sent three of his children, a girl of 14 years, and two little tots to a planted field some few hundred yards from his house, when the Indians came up and after horribly mutilating the two eldest, murdered them; the youngest escaped by hiding under a bush. The poor father in despair, broke up and went back to Germany, and the Imperial authorities did nothing.

As an example of the working of the Imperial system (and note that almost every person not of the government party or employ in the

land was opposed to it) take the fact that in August of the year 1879, some hundreds of people from an Italian colony, in a body, abandoned the model colony of Itajahy in the Province of Santa Catharina, and returned to their homes in disgust, protesting strongly in the public newspapers against the bad treatment they had suffered, and the deceptions practiced on them by the Imperial officers. This soon became a party question and for weeks the newspapers were filled with long articles attacking or defending the Imperial Director, various reasons having been given as the cause of the exodus. In fine the debate was taken up by the National Assembly, who with the usual lucidity which characterized that body under the Empire, failed to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, whilst the cause was as apparent as the day to outside observers. It was the natural outcome of an attempt to force arbitrary Imperial measures on a hasty and impetuous people, which had been often successfully tried with others more docile and more helpless in such a case.

Such outbreaks amongst the colonists were continually occurring, as the Imperial Director almost invariably swindled them in their payments and once in a while the authorities would send a military force to hold them in order.

Such after the war in the United States, a colony of so-called Americans was formed near Blumenau in the same Province; it was composed almost in its entirety of Irish, many of them ex-soldiers from the two armies, who soon quarreled with the Director, rowed with the Imperial authorities, and abandoned the colony one by one, until not an Irishman remained to tell the tale.

Near Curityba in the Province of Paraná, was formed a French colony, and in less than two years afterwards, I passed through the place, and saw the empty houses which had been abandoned by the colonists, and a dreary commentary it was on the Imperial system of colonization: roofs fallen in, grass growing on the hearthstones, the ruined huts being shelters for vermin, and the buzzards in flocks brooding over the picture of wretchedness. I knew of two other failures in the same province. At Assungu, on the richest and fairest public lands in the Empire, a colony was founded in 1867 or 8, and now it presents a more dreary appearance than the French colonial site above mentioned; not even the ruins are to be discovered.

And in 1879, the government imported a lot of long coated Russian peasants to start a colony in the Province of Paraná, but hardly had they landed when the row commenced, they positively refusing to the

least insolence, and now it is hard to find one of them. Well did the Imperial authorities know these facts, and after such constant failures it was concluded that a docile race was necessary for success, and as a "dernier ressort," the Liberal (?) Prime Minister of Brazil, Mr. Sinimbu, in September of the year 1879, recommended a measure which was fatuously believed would sustain the large landed proprietors by furnishing them slaves or their substitutes to take the place of the negroes who were rapidly becoming enfranchised. He proposed the acquisition of Chinese labor by contract, singularly ignoring American and English experience, singularly ignoring the fact that he would thus repel European labor from the Brazilian shores, and singularly ignoring that he would thus give a fearful blow at the national progress, but this question was most ably treated by the talented editor of the "Rio News" in the number of October 15th, 1879, to which I would refer those who would wish to continue the sickening question.

After many imbecile failures, as will be readily understood from the foregoing pages, at last, in the eighth decade of the century, the Imperial Government, noting the refusal of the United States to receive them promiscuously, succeeded in inducing some thousands of Italians to come to their country as colonists, and to this end large sums of money and immense misrepresentations were expended. But the treatment of these people was so negligent, not to say barbarous, that numbers of them demanded to be sent back again, and numbers deserted Brazil and went on to the La Plata River. The colony of "Rodrigo da Silva," as well as several other points in the interior, was in a state of revolution because of bad treatment and impossibility to obtain payment for work done for the government. In one place they paraded the streets demanding food to save them from starvation, and threatened to sack the town if the people did not do something to appease their hunger. A military force was sent there, and with this and temporarily giving them some coarse food, they were quieted enough to be dispersed, over the land to die, if they chose, singly; what cared the Imperial Government! Many were crowded into small, unhealthy, and badly fitted coast steamers and sent off to the southern provinces, many dying on the voyage from filth and neglect, and for those who reached their destination, the same neglect and wretchedness awaited them, so that hundreds became beggars in the streets of the towns, so much so that the Rio Grande newspapers made a vain and great outcry against this foul inhuman abuse. The military escorted 266 of them prisoners from the interior to Rio de

Janeiro, because they had revolted against the Imperial Director who failed to pay them for work done and left them to starve.

In Rio de Janeiro in May, 1889, hundreds were wandering through the streets, and begging alms, sleeping at night in that pest ridden city in doorways or on the side walks, or in the public parks. Under the office of the British Consulate in D. Manoce Street was a place for extending the imperial national hospitality to these *invited* guests; it was an old warehouse without windows or flooring, where some hundreds of men, women, and children were *pigged* together, in all their filth and wretchedness, without beds or clothing, and allowed to starve, that is those who were too sick to march off to a bakery and receive one small piece of bread as a daily allowance. Mr. Nicolini, the British Consul, told me that the stench was terrible, and that one day *he saw three dead bodies carried out*; and also that one poor woman whose milk had dried for want of food complained that her babe was starving, when the imperial policeman on duty threatened to take her off to jail if she did not be quiet.

These are only a very few of the hardships to which these poor people were subjected, and if any one should imagine the picture exaggerated, he can refer to the daily newspapers of Rio of the time. The *O Paiz*, the Republican paper, was particularly interesting, especially for the date, 4th May, 1889.

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LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN T. PICKETT, OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, TO SENOR DON MANUEL DE ZAMACONA, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MEXICO

Early in 1861, Colonel John T. Pickett of Virginia was sent to Mexico as the diplomatic agent of the Confederate States. He soon found that, while Corwin, the minister from the United States, and the people from the North who happened to be in the country were in high favor, he himself was regarded with coldness and suspicion. The unfriendliness of the Mexicans towards him and his government was augmented by the efforts of the Northerners, with one of whom—"an unlucky pill-vender by the name of Bennett"—he got into a quarrel. Bennett refused to respond to a challenge to a duel and the Southern diplomat went to the former's place of business and, after calling him a liar, struck and kicked him. This incident resulted in Pickett's arrest by the Mexican authorities on the charge of assault and battery. Pickett claimed immunity on the basis of his diplomatic character, and, this being refused him, finally secured his release from jail by means of bribery. In December he left Mexico, by which time the government of the Republic had virtually ceased to function, and the European creditors of the hapless nation had begun to crowd it badly.

Among the Pickett Papers in the Map Division of the Library of Congress are to be found copies of the Mexican correspondence of Pickett, from which the following letter (marked "with No. 10"), which indicates the nature of Pickett's negotiations and the general character of the correspondence, has been reproduced. The volume containing the copy of the letter is number 26 of the Papers of the Confederate States.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

MR. PICKETT TO MR. DE ZAMACONA

Mexico September 16th 1861.

Hotel Iturbide, N° 64.

The note of His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated the 28th Ultimo, was received by the undersigned, Confidential Agent of the Government of the Confederate States of America, in time to be transmitted to Richmond, (the actual capital of the C. S. of A.), by the last packet, and H. E. will please accept the thanks of the undersigned for having so graciously complied with his request in regard to a prompt reply to his last note.

The undersigned can only express his deep regret at the permission accorded by the Mexican Government for the passage of troops of the United States from Guaymas, in the State of Sonora, to Arizona,—since, in view of the assurance given by the undersigned that, Arizona is under the protection of the Confederate States, the permission referred to is certainly violative of that strict and perfect neutrality which the Government of Mexico so emphatically declares to be its purpose to observe with regard to the intestine disputes of foreign nations. It is true the U. States likewise claims to exercise authority over the said territory—or district of Arizona; but this permission (to adopt the implied theory of the Mexican Government, that the late U. States is still one nation), conceded to the U. States as a matter of right were a pretension on the part of Mexico to decide a purely domestic question of a foreign power.

It may here be observed as not a little singular, that although a similar privilege had been more than once asked in former times by the late U. States, it had never been effectively granted until now, when, in consequence of the revolution, it can only be rendered available by one section of the late U. States against another section. However, as the chief object of the mission of the undersigned is the preservation of peace and the cultivation of the best relations between two neighboring nations, this grave matter has been reported to the Government of the Confederate States with every possible circumstance of extenuation,—the undersigned dwelling especially upon the fact that he has been assured by H. E., the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that Mexico was not, at the time of granting the obnoxious permission, aware the Confederate States claimed to exercise jurisdiction over the territory in question. The subject is therefore dismissed by the undersigned with a friendly remonstrance,—not doubting the Government of Mexico will

see the justice and propriety of hastening to retrace a step, which if persisted in cannot otherwise than prove fatal to the peace of the frontier.

As the impression appears to prevail in this capital—and in fact throughout the Republic—that the policy of the Confederate States toward Mexico will be aggressive, the undersigned desires to assure His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that such impression is entirely erroneous, and wholly without foundation.

Formerly, the policy of the Southern part of the late American Union was *extension* no doubt; the object having been to maintain its equilibrium with the North,—which section was adding to itself State after State, with the main object of securing a majority in the National House of Representatives and in the Senate, (which latter body was a Council of Ambassadors of Sovereign States), and thus to control the other co-ordinate powers of the Government, namely: the Executive (President) and Judiciary. Succeeding it was avowedly their purpose to remodel the Judiciary,—placing their own creatures on the Supreme Bench, and thus have the Constitution interpreted in accordance with their own peculiar views. The President also whatever might have been his views and principles would have been powerless for good in the hands of a Sectional Senate, as that body exercises co-equal power in all appointments to office, in the ratification of treaties, in the levying of war, in the suspension of the *habeas corpus* (*garantias personales*), and in short, in all the high prerogatives of Government.

The North having succeeded last Autumn in electing a Sectional President upon a *Plan* at once destructive and insulting to the South, and having already secured a majority of the House of Representatives—with every certainty of a majority in the Senate within two years—the latter Section had presented to it the alternative of a withdrawal from the Union, or submission to a most degrading vassalage. The former alternative was chosen and as recent events have proved, not too soon for the preservation of Southern honor and liberty. True, President Lincoln received only about one third part of the entire popular vote cast on the occasion, but he was elected according to the *form* (though not in the *spirit*), prescribed by the Constitution, and the South could rid itself of the despotism prepared for it only by revolution. Thus the war made upon the South and its institutions for thirty years was hastened to a culmination.

It must be manifest to H. E. that, with the establishment of its Independence the policy of extension of territory on the part of the South

ceases to exist—in fact dies a natural death. The Confederate States have now more territory than they can cultivate and people for a century to come, and so far from desiring to acquire any portion of the lands of its Mexican neighbor, the undersigned would be happy to receive and transmit to Richmond proposals for the retrocession to Mexico of a large portion of the territory hitherto acquired from her by the late U. States.¹

Nevertheless, the Confederate States will not look with indifference upon the acquisition—by force or otherwise—of Mexican territory by the present U. States, nor by private companies organized in that country. The following passage from the first note of the undersigned to H. E. is sufficiently significant upon this subject. "The grant to the United States of commercial, political, or territorial advantages which may not be accorded to the Confederate States would be regarded by that Government as evidence of an unfriendly disposition on the part of Mexico which it would sincerely deplore and protest against in the promptest and most decided manner."

The Government of the Confederate States does not assume to restrict Mexico as to the manner in which she may dispose of her own property; but self-preservation is the first law of nature and of nations, and is therefore the cardinal principle of international law, and the Confederate States cannot permit themselves to be flanked by the radication upon their Southern borders of a powerful, fanatical, unscrupulous and deadly hostile Government, namely: that of the actual United States. Neither would the Confederate States be indifferent to European recolonization, or the re-establishment of a monarchy in Mexico.²

The undersigned trusts H. E. will excuse the frankness of these remarks and that they will be received in the sincerely friendly spirit by

¹ On August 1st, Pickett had written in a letter to Toombs: "No one is more impressed than the writer with the great truth that *Southward the Star of Empire takes its way!*" . On October 29th, he expressed the fear that colonies of Germans, whom he found especially hostile to slavery, were to be planted in northern Mexico, and suggested to Toombs the seizure of Monterey and the ultimate control by the South of the whole northern part of the Republic.

² On November 29th, when on the point of departing from Mexico, Pickett wrote the secretary of state of the Confederacy: "Our revolution has emasculated the Monroe Doctrine, in so far as we are concerned. The Spaniards are now become our natural allies, and jointly with them we may own the Gulf of Mexico and effect a partition of this magnificent country. I little thought a few years ago ever to counsel a Spanish alliance, but revolutions bring us into strange company, and I am now prepared to advocate an alliance which may tend to check the expansion of the North."

which they are dictated. It is far from the intention of the undersigned to assume to instruct Mexico upon the subject of international law, nor to offer gratuitous information as to the form of Government of the late United States—seeing that H. E. cannot be less informed than himself upon that subject. But he, the undersigned, has felt that he would be guilty of dereliction of duty should he fail to consign the foregoing to writing—freighted as it is with weighty considerations to the respective Governments, and which cannot, therefore, be otherwise than of deep interest to Mexican Statesmen.

As H. E., the Minister of Foreign Affairs, appears to have deemed the proposal of the undersigned to the effect, that existing treaties between Mexico and the United States be considered as of force and effect between Mexico and the Confederate States, was intended as an indirect method of securing a recognition of the Independence of the Confederate States by Mexico, the undersigned begs permission to assure H. E. that no such motive governed him in advancing that proposition. In the same communication he, the undersigned, distinctly avows, (as H. E. has not failed to perceive), that "It is not the wish of the Government of the undersigned to *ask* for a formal recognition of the Independence of the Confederate States by Mexico." The object of the undersigned was purely and simply to cause as little inconvenience as possible to Mexico, and to citizens of the respective countries in consequence of the disruption of the late American Union; in the hope that, thus the people of Mexico and of the Confederate States should continue to occupy precisely the same relations toward each other as heretofore. In fact, notwithstanding the denial of H. E., those treaties *are* of force and effect and in full operation,—certainly in so far as the ordinary commercial relations are concerned. Consuls of the Mexican Republic remain and perform their functions in the cities and ports of the Confederate States, by virtue of those treaties, under the sanction of that Government, and the traffic of the frontier continues uninterrupted. Moreover, the Congress of the Confederate States in making it a penal offense to export cotton across the frontiers expressly excepted Mexico from that prohibition, to the end that this country might not be incommoded by being deprived of her usual supply of that article. The amount of that product usually exported to this country is so insignificant in comparison with the immense crop gathered, that it was scarcely an object of special legislation, except from the motive just explained. The bar at the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte has so little water on it that it was not hoped the said river could be rendered available for

the exportation of cotton to Europe. The legislation was therefore for the benefit of Mexico and of the few cotton planters in that part of Texas. This otherwise irrelevant matter has been introduced for the purpose of showing that the relations of the two countries are closer than those relations which exist merely by the comity of nations.

When the great European powers admitted the belligerent rights of the Confederate States they impliedly acknowledged the independence of those States as a *de facto* Government, and the full operation of the treaties as between their subjects, respectively, and the citizens of the said States. The *formal* recognition of a Government *de jure* were of course, another affair. If the Confederate States fail to maintain their independence such recognition will assuredly and properly be withheld. The undersigned has not permitted himself to suppose the Mexican Government is less a free agent in such matters than the European powers, and that, in consequence, she (Mexico) recognizes the belligerent rights of the Confederate States,—would respect the flag of those States on the high seas, in her ports, &c. Indeed it was considered unnecessary to propound such a question, though an admission of those rights would be agreeable to the undersigned if expressed in acknowledgement to this note.

Whilst fully recognizing the harmonious and cordial spirit pervading the note of H. E., it is a source of surprise to the undersigned the Mexican Government should not have perceived that, in repudiating the treaties referred to as between Mexico and the Confederate States, the autonomy of those States is thereby confessed; *id est*,—they have successfully thrown off the binding effect of those treaties, and have boldly asserted their independence of the U. States. It is, however, a theory of the publicists that, a revolution in a Federal, or in a Confederate Government, and the withdrawal of a member from the Federation, does not release the seceding State from its obligations to foreign powers previously contracted. Upon the disruption of the Columbian Confederation the late members were held rateably responsible for the debts and other treaty obligations incurred whilst in the Union. Thus, if a treaty existed between Mexico and the U. States by which the latter had engaged to pay the former \$10,000,000 in 1862 would not Mexico expect the Confederate States to pay their proportion in the event of the U. States repudiating the whole or any part of that debt? And if the Confederate States were bound by such obligations and willingly admitted them, would it not oblige Mexico to fulfill her portion of the treaty stipulation by which such debt may have been incurred? It

were a matter a reciprocal obligation, and this reasoning applies precisely to the proposal of the undersigned with regard to the treaties; the only difference consisting in the fact that no money is due to Mexico and therefore the point and full force of the argument may not be so clear.

Finally, in as much as Mexico declines to consider the old treaties as of force and effect the undersigned hereby withdraws the affirmative proposition, and would be happy, (pending the full recognition of the Confederate States by other powers), to exchange with H. E. confidential protocols as the bases of an entirely new treaty of amity, commerce, navigation, &c. [Limits & extradition.]

The undersigned trusts to the patience of H. E. to excuse the great length of this communication,—especially if any of the topics may be deemed premature. It has been the anxious desire of the undersigned that it may not be said hereafter, should misunderstandings unfortunately arise between the respective Governments, that such a result could be attributed in the slightest degree to neglect or omission on his part seasonably to perform his whole duty as an expositor of good intentions and a conservator of the peace between two countries which require only to know each other better to ensure the most intimate relations.

The undersigned cannot refrain from felicitating the Mexican people upon the return of the anniversary of the glorious *Grito of Dolores*, and particularly upon its celebration, in the ancient capital of the Republic, by a Constitutional Government.

The undersigned has the honor to renew to His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

JOHN T. PICKETT.

[Addressed:] To His Excellency,

El Señor Don Manuel M.^a de Zamacona, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico.

BOOK REVIEWS

Estudios de Historia Argentina: El Padre José Guevara,—Don Diego de Alvear.—El Doctor Don Diego Alcorta.—Las Bases de Alberdi y el Desarrollo Constitucional. By PABLO GROUSSAC. (Buenos Aires, Jesús Menéndez, 1918. Pp. xi, 371.)

In this volume Pablo Groussac, who has long served as director of the National Library of Argentina, reprints four monographs that have appeared from time to time in the *Annals* of his library. The studies collected in this volume deal with unrelated topics in Argentine history. In the preface Groussac announces the intention of his publisher to print in book form some of his other monographs which are either inedited or out of print.

The four monographs printed in what promises to be the initial volume of Groussac's collected writings are more than mere biographical studies. For the subject of each sketch is placed into relation with his environment. The first monograph deals with a Jesuit father who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, wrote a history of Paraguay. Groussac makes a critical estimate of Guevara's history and shows that it is mainly based upon a work by Father Lozano, another Jesuit historian. The Argentine critic also makes some interesting commentaries upon the Jesuit régime in the Spanish Indies. The second monograph is concerned with a Spaniard who emigrated to the vice-royalty of La Plata in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The upshot of Groussac's essay on Diego de Alvear is a critique of the diary of José M. Cabrer which was published in Montevideo in 1882-1883. That diary purported to be Cabrer's account of the labors of the commission which tried to locate the boundary between the possessions of Spain and Portugal in South America in accordance with their treaty of 1777. Groussac demonstrates that Cabrer's diary was copied from the diary of Alvear who represented Spain on the boundary commission to which Cabrer was for a time attached in the capacity of engineer. The third monograph is a study of Diego Alcorta, who was professor of philosophy in the University of Buenos Aires from 1827 to 1842. Groussac's sketch of Professor Alcorta casts some light upon that dark period of Argentine history when Centralists and Federalists were

engaged in sanguinary struggles and when the Argentine Confederation became involved in disputes with European powers.

The fourth monograph is the *pièce de résistance*. Groussac's essay upon the *Bases* of Alberdi and constitutional development in Argentina is a critical study of Argentina's much-discussed philosopher, Juan Bautista Alberdi, and of his influence upon the framers of the Argentine constitution of 1853—a constitution which, with some modifications, still serves as the fundamental charter of the Argentine nation. In that essay, Groussac is not only a critic, he is also a polemist. Some students of Argentine constitutional history will regret that the erudite author did not somewhat modify his opinions concerning the Argentine constitution of 1853, especially in view of the criticisms which have been made of them by a young Argentine scholar. In this monograph, in particular, the reviewer felt that the footnotes were occasionally lacking in the specific detail which would prove useful to North American students of Argentine history.

The volume under review contains four noteworthy studies by one of the leading historical critics of South America. The reviewer hopes that the publisher will complete his task of publishing in collected form certain works of Señor Groussac. In this way North American historical students may hope to become acquainted with some critical and illuminating studies which have been written by the director of the great library that was founded by Mariano Moreno.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

British Exploits in South America: A History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade in South America. By W. H. KOEBEL. (New York: The Century Company, 1917. Pp. xiv, 587. Illus. \$4.00.)

The author of this book in his prefatory statement claims for his work "a total lack of haste in its preparation". There was no "rapid gathering together of material", but rather "a lengthy process of selection" (p. vii). Even to such a prolific writer as Mr. Koebel—he has "managed to deliver" himself of "eighteen books" (p. viii)—such advantages must have been found necessary to the performance of the large task suggested by the title of this volume, but their enjoyment makes his responsibilities correspondingly great.

This book is divided into four very uneven parts. The first describes the experiences of the early navigators, adventurers, and "buc-

aneers"; the second, which is perhaps the most valuable of the four, covers the period of the wars of independence and treats of the British aid to the republican cause in South America; the third narrates the exploits of the British during most—and not the "early part", as is stated in the title—of the nineteenth century, with disproportionate space, six chapters out of nine, allotted to Brazil; the fourth tells, it is announced, of "Scientific and Literary Observers", but in reality it is devoted to these not only, but to British "achievements" in trade, to politics, to the British immigrants, to prophecy, and to odds and ends of information which make this part particularly heterogeneous in character. At the last there are a bibliography of books published since 1870 and a list of "British arrivals in the River Plate at the beginning of the nineteenth century".

The volume is devoid of footnote references either to original materials and documents or to standard secondary works. Its contents are drawn, as is indicated in the body of the writing, from memoirs and travel narratives, though the publications of the Hakluyt Society are used to a certain extent. These sources are almost entirely British.

The style in which Mr. Koebel wrote seems to warrant the assumption that his book was intended for the general reader, rather than for the student. It is racy, sometimes eloquent; and around many British exploits and heroes there are thrown romance and glamor. Yet, it is characteristic throughout that the author permitted himself to indulge an episodical habit, which renders the work disjointed and at times tiresome. Mr. Koebel all too frequently digresses from his legitimate theme to record bits of Hispanic-American history, the pertinence of which is often not apparent. It is difficult, for instance, to see the appositeness in devoting four pages (313-316) to tell how in 1817 the United States minister to Brazil avoided a servile and undignified obeisance then exacted by the court. Although the work is episodical and although there are chapters, particularly those on Brazil, which are diffuse, exhaustive treatment can scarcely be claimed for any portion. And the writer did not take the pains to investigate many details of minor importance on which his memory was admittedly uncertain, as when writing of an important edition he stated "whether the first or not I am unable to say" (p. 742).

Chapter XXII, entitled "South America in English Print", gives a descriptive, critical, or analytical comment on some of the books on South America by British and American writers. Those listed as by Americans are too few to make the chapter of great value as a bibliog-

raphy and the lack of care (as on p. 476) in differentiating them from those by British may be misleading to the general reader. Quotations "to show the author as he is" are printed after many of the books. The selection of authors for extended comment seems haphazard. Latham's *The States of the River Plate* receives two pages (473-474), while a title like *Narrative of Facts connected with the Change effected in the Political Conditions and Relations of Paraguay, under the Direction of Dr. Thomas Francia* is merely mentioned (p. 444).

Not only are there many errors and omissions in the bibliography, but there is a marked carelessness in the printing of the book. We are left in doubt as to the correct form "Londrez" (p. 101) or "Londres" (p. 103); "Hillyar" or "Hillyard" (p. 218). There are inaccurate and imaginative explanations of the terms "gringo" (p. 253) and "Red Shirts" (p. 379), as applied to the followers of Garibaldi. The use of accents is rather capricious, as, for instance, in the forms "Tarapacà" and "Tarapaca". Such words as "Bucaneers", "Inglessa", "Inglez", "Ramcagua" require orthographic attention. The work has a very complete index.

W. W. PIERSON, JR.

In the Wilds of South America. By LEO E. MILLER, of the American Museum of Natural History. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, [1918]. Pp. 424. \$4.50.)

Close and thorough attention to details may reasonably be expected to result from the training that makes the efficient naturalist. Such attention, with ability to see details and exactness in describing them, are shown by the reports made by Leo E. Miller of his six years of exploring and studying nature and her works over 150,000 miles of South America. The value of his work is not lessened by his giving many facts that should have practical value and interest for the prospector, the lumberman, and the engineer, for a carrier, for a capitalist and for other students: nor by the style of his narration, that should make his account delightful for the general reader. For he tells of the shape of the face of the places he saw, the size, height, and trend of the cordilleras, of their biting cold and sweltering heat; of dim aisles beneath tall giants that in tropic forests survived only by smothering their rivals, only to be choked to death by lianas that had for years depended upon their victims. He tells of the peoples, their joys, their griefs and the ailments that sap whatever strength they may have had; and of carriers who, with seventy-five pounds of cargo, and their rations

for the day, marched sturdily up mountains and down again. He tells of the people who dwell in Chocó:

which lies along the western coast [of northern Colombia] and within the San Juan watershed. . . . It has been rarely visited by naturalists on account of its inaccessibility; and the few who have succeeded in forcing their way within its inhospitable borders have found it impossible to remain any length of time. Malarial and yellow fevers are endemic among the natives, but quickly sap the vitality and life of newcomers; rain falls daily—four hundred inches being the average precipitation for one year—and the heat is so intense when the sun appears during the interval between showers the whole jungle is converted into a steaming inferno. Small wonder, then, that the fabulous wealth in gold and platinum of the Chocó has been little more than touched.

Of the dwellers in the village of Juntas de Tamaná, in Chocó, he says:

They suffer from lack of food, for the simple reason that they are too indolent to grow in sufficient quantities the plantains, yuccas and other plants that thrive with a minimum of attention in so favorable a location. Instead of making clearings and cultivating the fertile ground, they prefer to lounge in their hammocks and take a chance of starving to death.

This suggests that the real cause for their indolence, and for that of others whose laziness he, and many others, mention as characteristic of the peoples of tropical America, may be hookworms, mosquitos, and other planters of diseases.

EDWARD PERRY.

Carlos Augusto Salaverry. By ALBERTO URETA. (Lima: Casa Editora Sanmartí y Cia., 1918.)

Unlike most doctoral dissertations, this book is more a source of information simply presented and unpretentiously marshalled than a bibliographical exhibition. In many cases of doctoral theses, the footnotes overbalance the text. In this case the text is the main consideration of the author, not his desire, if he had any, to impress his readers with the extent of his knowledge.

Carlos Augusto Salaverry (1830-1891) was one of the most pathetic and brilliant figures in nineteenth century Peruvian letters. It is not, I think, generally known that the poet Salaverry was a natural son of General Felipe Santiago Salaverry by one Vicenta Ramírez, a resident of the upper Chira Valley in the Department of Piura. The boy was born in the city of Piura on December 4, 1830. Later on, his father,

who seems always to have had a sincere affection for him, married Doña Juana Pérez e Infantas of Tacna, and, from an early age, young Carlos Augusto was accustomed to regard her as his mother, having a tender regard for her which was cordially returned.

Salaverry was destined to undergo much unhappiness during his life, largely due to his unfortunate love affairs. His first wife was Mercedes Felices, the sister of a Lima actor. She was unfaithful to him. His later irregular manner of life was one of the causes for his ill success in his suit of Ismena Torres, a young woman of social prominence. Ismena responded to his feelings, but her parents, reasonably enough perhaps, had no desire to own Salaverry as their son-in-law. This affair took place about 1858, and was the inspiration of the *Cartas a un angel* which are among the poet's best work. Ismena was soon taken to Europe by her family, which effectually put an end to the love affair.

By this time (1858), Carlos already enjoyed considerable reputation as a poet and as a dramatist. He was turbulent and rather swash-buckling in character. On one occasion he shot at an actor because the latter's interpretation of one of his dramas did not satisfy him. On another occasion he got into a rather discreditable row with don Tomás Gutiérrez, then a high official in the army, and later Minister of War. Only the intervention of President José Balta and his secretary don Ricardo Palma saved Salaverry from serious trouble. In 1869, the year in which his first volume of verse, *Diamantes y Perlas*, was published in Lima, he set out with don Pedro Galvez for the United States and France. Balta had given him the post of attaché in the Peruvian legation to France and England.

Reaching Paris in February, 1870, Salaverry began to make the most of his new opportunities. Meeting his old friend the now famous poet, Luis Benjamin Cisneros, who was then consul-general of Peru in France, Salaverry entrusted to him the task of seeing his new volume, *Albores y Destellos*, through the press. It was printed at Havre in 1871. Salaverry, meanwhile, found it possible to make a short trip to Rome, but most of 1871 and 1872 was spent in Paris, studying and otherwise improving his knowledge of his art. Toward the end of the latter year, however, his post was suppressed by the Peruvian government, and he was left stranded in Europe without sufficient funds to return to Lima. It was not until 1876, that a sonnet of his attracted the favorable attention of President Mariano Ignacio Prado, that the Peruvian State Department enabled him to return to his native land.

Salaverry now reentered upon his life as a favorite poet of Lima. He went out a good deal into society, meanwhile, however, continuing his poetical labors with his accustomed fervor. About this time he fell in love with another young woman of social prominence, a certain Señorita Rey de Castro. Her parents objected, as had the Torres family, to the match, and in 1883 they went to Europe, whither Salaverry shortly followed them. More fortunate however, than in the former instance, the poet was ultimately successful in his suit, and married Señorita Rey de Castro as his second wife. The remainder of his life was passed in Europe, the last years of it being darkened by a severe illness caused by paralysis. He died in Paris on April 9, 1891.

All this, and a great many highly interesting comments on the poet's work are set forth by Señor Ureta. Besides the two volumes mentioned, Salaverry published at Lima, in 1883, a second edition of *Diamantes y Perlas* and *Misterios de la Tumba*.

Sr. Ureta's style is delightful. The reader, even though he may have a prejudice against Salaverry on account of his tendency toward the threadbare oratorical effects of the politician and toward the lackadaisical misery of the rejected lover who rather revels in his rejection, finds himself borne on from page to page. It is a pity that the volume, fairly well printed as a whole, should be marred by a number of absurd misprints. On page 24 we find *socaial* for *social* and *D. Dicardo Palma* for *D. Ricardo Palma*. In footnote 2 on page 58 we find *opcsúulo* for *opúsculo* and *dicatoria* for *dedicatoria*. It is so easy, in the case of a phonetic language like Spanish, to avoid such errors, yet it is unfortunately true that almost every book printed in Peru contains numerous instances of gross carelessness in proofreading.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Piura, Peru,

August 10, 1919.

South America and the War: being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered in the University of London, King's College, under the Tooke Trust in the Lent Term. By FREDERICK ALEXANDER KIRKPATRICK. (Cambridge, University Press, 1918. Pp. vii, (1), 79. 4 shillings, 6 pence.)

The author's purpose, as expressed in the preface, was "to perform a war service by drawing attention to the activity of the Germans in 'Latin' America and particularly to the ingenuity and tenacity of their efforts to hold their economic ground during the war, with a view to

extending it after the conclusion of peace. A second object was to examine more generally the bearings of the war on those countries, and the influence of the present crisis on their development and status in the world."

In citing his source material, the author mentions Hauser's *Germany's Economic Grip Upon the World*, Gray's *The Bloodless War*, *Le Brésil*, a weekly review of Paris, *South American Journal*, and the *British and Latin Trade Gazette*.

The Introduction includes five sections, namely, General conditions, Geographical grouping, Political distribution, Origin of divisions, and Emancipation. He points out that the recent growth of Hispanic America coincides with the birth and growth of the German industrial system, and comments on the results of Germany's efforts in meeting the needs of those countries, calling attention to the changed economic character of the United States in having become an exporter of manufactured goods—a fact that has profoundly affected the relations of the United States with Hispanic America.

In the first chapter "Political currents and forces", the author succinctly but luminously points out the factors that Germany has attempted to divert to diplomatic or bellicose ends, such as boundary disputes, questions arising between the Spanish and Portuguese, the Tacna and Arica question between Chile and Peru, the actions and influence of the United States in the Caribbean area, and others.

The second chapter, "The German outlook on Latin America", describes the stress laid by Germany upon its relations with those countries and the efforts toward cultural and commercial penetration. "Her main asset is the German in South America. Every German abroad means the investment of interest-bearing capital for German cultural expansion". Among the societies and organizations organized to promote German penetration four are mentioned by name: (1) The German South American Institute at Aix-la-Chapelle with its monthly *El Mensagero de Ultramar* and the Portuguese version of the same publication, *O Transatlantico*; (2) The German Economic League for South and Central America, organized in 1915; (3) The Hamburg Ibero-American League, with its weekly *El Heraldo de Hamburgo*; and (4) The Germanic League for South America.

The third chapter "The economic war and its propaganda" forms an interesting and suggestive illustration of the application of Germany's methods. In chapters four, five, and six the author discusses the relations of other countries to Hispanic America and the influence of the war

upon the latter. "It has stopped public over-borrowing and has put some check on extravagance of public spending. It has favoured private thrift." And later the author says "War conditions" have "favoured a more clearly defined national development, both economic and political, in each of those states. These conditions also conduce to a closer and more real intercourse between the 'Latin-American' states."

Pan-Americanism is the last topic of discussion. It is introduced by a brief examination of the Monroe Doctrine, which "is popularly understood as connoting an imperial policy, a movement towards supremacy or hegemony". Attention is called to a different interpretation and to a growing feeling "that the inter-American policy of the United States calls for some kind of revision or re-statement", the solution sought being Pan-Americanism. The artificial character of a concert of the American republics is indicated and the factors that enter into the problem are adumbrated. The author's conclusion is that "the ultimate result may be the formation of a concert of America, in which the more tranquil and educated elements may guide the whole".

C. K. JONES.

El Hispano-Americanismo estudiado desde el Punto de Vista del Derecho Internacional y el Problema Territorial de América. By FERNANDO BERENGUER. (Habana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1918. Pp. 221.)

This is an interesting contribution to the literature of Pan-Americanism. Señor Mariano Aramburo, in his Prologue to the work, indicates the purpose and scope of the author's discussion as follows: "In these pages, the distinguished publicist, Señor Berenguer examines the two aspirations that are contending in the field of American relations—on our side, the natural, spontaneous, and irresistible tendency of peoples of Spanish origin to effect an international association that will be an active expression of the ethnic community in which they desire to live and prosper, strong and respected by the world; on the other side, the artificial, artful, and unilateral tendency of the United States to form of all the peoples of the American continent a juridical and economic entity which will insure and consecrate, under the sanctions of contractual law, the hegemony of the Federation."

C. K. JONES.

South and Central American Trade Conditions of Today. By A. HYATT VERRILL. (New York, 1919. Dodd, Mead, and Company. Pp. 212.)

This little volume is a revised edition of the handbook published by the author under the same title in 1914, and is designed to provide an up-to-date guide to the trade methods to be followed in transacting business with the republics of Hispanic America. According to the author's own statement, the book "contains a vast amount of information regarding Spanish America and Spanish Americans, their customs, manners, and point of view, as related to business, as well as a great deal of data concerning the exports, imports, debts, wealth, foreign capital, improvements, population, transportation, and business of the various countries". He likewise believes that "this book will fill a long-felt want for a compact, concise, and yet complete source of information for all interested in business and trade conditions between the United States and her sister republics".

While the reviewer can not conscientiously concur in all points of the foregoing statements, there is undoubtedly much useful, and on the whole, reliable information in the two hundred and twelve pages. The book is divided into three parts. The first, entitled, "Wherein we fail", contains the following chapters: "How we stand", "Ignorance of conditions", "Slipshod methods", and "Credits and consuls". The second part, "How we may succeed", has these subdivisions: "Winning confidence", "Giving the people what they want", and "Organization". Part three devotes a brief section to each of the Hispanic American countries, including those of the West Indies, and gives figures relative to their currency, weights and measures, postal system, railways, and steamship lines. Four maps are included, two of South America, one showing the Central American countries, and one of Mexico.

The book is written in a colloquial and frequently bombastic style that will often prove distasteful to the better informed business man or general reader. It is apparently addressed to an audience that is supposed to be totally unfamiliar with the countries concerned, and its general tone reflects the conditions characteristic of the business relations between the United States and Hispanic America a decade ago rather than those prevailing at the present time. Although the author professes to be a thorough and experienced student of all matters connected with the trade of South and Central America, he does not seem to be aware of the existence of such an important instrumentality for the extension of American commerce with those fields as is afforded by

the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce through its special Latin-American Division. Had he availed himself of the facilities of that office, he would have been able to include statistical data and other facts of more recent date than those given, and would have realized the fact that considerable progress has been made in remedying many of the abuses to which he makes reference. In spite of such shortcomings, however, the volume will be of interest and value to the novice in Hispanic American business, and will be useful for reference purposes to others in the absence of a more comprehensive and carefully written handbook.

W. E. DUNN.

Colección General de Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla. Publicado por LA COMPAÑIA GENERAL DE TABACOS DE FILIPINAS. Tomo I (1493-1518). (Barcelona: Imprenta de la Viuda de Luis Tasso, 1919. Pp. xix, 365, 1 leaf. Facsimiles. 15 pesetas.)

This is the first volume of what promises to be, if the plans of the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas are carried out, a very long series; for it is the ambitious intention of the Company to publish "all the documents existing in the Archivo de Indias relative to the Philippine Islands, beginning with the earliest and compiling them in their chronological order". The extent of the documents in the above archives may be seen by consulting Robertson's *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands*. If this plan is carried out in its entirety, it will be the first time that all the documents of the archives relating to a given regional unit of considerable size have been published. The time that will be consumed in exhausting the documents of the archives relating to the Philippines may be estimated somewhat by referring to the Blair and Robertson collection, the majority of the original documents of which came from Seville, and yet that series touched but a very small part of the material available. To complete this present series, even with a generous appearance of volumes each year, many years, and probably more than a generation, will be required. The material of the first volume and its mechanical get-up are inspiring and the best wishes of those interested in the Philippine field go with the Company in its daring venture.

It is seldom that a commercial company embarks upon an undertaking of this nature; but the officials of the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas have been actively interested in the history of the Philippine Islands for many years. The interest of the director of the Com-

pany, Clemente Miralles de Imperial and other officials led the Company to begin the collection of Filipiniana relating to the tobacco industry of the islands—but the collection was soon made to include material on all subjects relating to the Islands. About the beginning of the present century, the Tabacalera Collection was greatly increased by the purchase of the very excellent collection of Filipiniana that had been made by W. E. Retana who had long been a writer on Philippine matters and bibliography and an assiduous collector of publications relating to the Philippines. Subsequent purchases by the Company, made through Hiersemann, Vindel, and other dealers, as well as many thousands of transcripts made from the Archivo de Indias, made this the best collection in existence. In 1913, the entire collection (including the transcripts), was sold to the Philippine Library in Manila, and was checked in and taken over at Barcelona by the present reviewer, then librarian of the Philippine Library. The sale of its collection did not, however, destroy the Company's interest in the history of the Philippine Islands, as witness the present volume. The idea of the publication was initiated by the Count of Churruca, one of the officials of the Company, and a scholar of some note. At least two volumes are promised annually, but as seen above, that number must be multiplied many times if the present generation is to have many of these documents at its service.

The plan of publication is to present the documents in the language in which they appear without translation when in languages other than Spanish. Annotation will be limited to very brief notes placed at the beginning of each volume. At the head of each document will be noted publications in which that document has appeared, if previously published. The immediate editor of the series, who signs himself simply "J. S. G.", has the advantage of advice and aid from the wellknown director of the Archivo de Indias, Pedro Torres y Lanzas and his staff, the Rev. Pablo Pastells, S. J., a veteran worker in the history of the Philippines, and W. E. Retana, who now lives in Barcelona.

The first volume contains 47 documents, as follows: Docs. 1, 2, and 4, Alexander VI.'s bulls of May 3, May 4, and September 25 (or 26), 1493. Doc. 3, Memorial and petition of Pedro Díaz and Rui de Pina, ambassador of the King of Portugal, to the Catholic Kings, informing them of his sovereign's orders in regard to the difference between the two kings over the islands of the Ocean Sea that had been discovered, August 14, 1493. Docs. 5 and 6, The Treaty of Tordesillas, the first in Portuguese and the second a Spanish translation dated 1494. Doc. 7, The agreement of 1495 between Spain and Portugal increasing the time

limit allowed by the Treaty of Tordesillas for the laying down of the line of division between Spanish and Portuguese possessions. Docs. 8, 9, 10, and 11, Royal cédulas notifying the officials of the Casa de Contratación of the appointments of Andrés de San Martín, Juan Rodríguez Mafra, Juan Serrano, and Vasco Gallego as pilots (1512-1513). Doc. 12, Extract of a letter (1515) from the officials of the Casa de Contratación to the king in regard to the Divisional Line. Doc. 13, Accounts of the Treasurer of the Casa de Contratación showing moneys spent in connection with the fitting out of vessels for the Spice regions (1515-1533). Doc. 14, Royal cedula appointing S. Cabot chief pilot (1518). Doc. 15, Royal cedula in regard to the former's salary (1518). Doc. 16, Royal cedula appointing Esteban Gomez pilot (1518). Doc. 17, Instrument signed by Falero and Magellan agreeing to give Juan de Aranda, factor of the Casa de Contratación, a one-eighth share of the products of the spice fleet (1518). Doc. 18, Royal cedula increasing San Martin's pay (1518). Doc. 19, Memorial by Falero and Magellan (1518). Doc. 20, Royal cedula confirming the agreement made with Falero and Magellan (1518). Doc. 21, Royal cedula appointing the above two men captains of the spice fleet (1518). Docs. 22 and 23, Royal cedulas regarding salary to be paid to Magellan and Falero (1518). Doc. 24, Instructions to be followed by Magellan and Falero (1518). Docs. 25, and 26, Letters (1518) from the king to officials of the Casa de Contratación in regard to other officials of the spice fleet. Docs. 27 and 28, Royal cedulas in regard to moneys to be paid to Magellan and Falero, and the passing of their privileges to their heirs in case of death. Docs. 29 and 30, Royal cedulas postponing the preparation of the fleet (1518). Doc. 31, Royal decree summoning Cristobal de Haro for a special conference (1518). Doc. 32, Royal cedula addressed to the officials of the Casa de Contratación, ordering that the projected voyage be carried out and that the expenses thereof be met as planned (1518). Doc. 33, List of materials to be provided by the Casa de Contratación for Magellan's voyage (1518). Doc. 34, Letter from the officials of the Casa de Contratación to the king in regard to the expenses incurred for the spice fleet (1518). Docs. 35 and 36, Royal cédulas ordering that a certain portion of the gold brought from the islands of San Juan and Fernandina be expended on the spice fleet (1518). Docs. 37, 38, and 39, Royal cédulas in regard to the salaries of the pilots Vasco Gallego, Juan Rodríguez de Mafra, and Juan Serrano (1518). Doc. 40, Royal cedula ordering that a certain part of the gold brought from the Indies be expended on the fleet (1518). Doc. 41, Letter from Magel-

lan to the king complaining of the lukewarm assistance given him in Seville (1518). Doc. 42, Letter from the King to Magellan ordering him to report on a ship which has run aground (1518). Doc. 43, Letter from the king to the treasurer of the Casa de Contratación (1518). Doc. 44, Royal cédula ordering one of the officials of the Casa de Contratación to report on late occurrences with Magellan. Doc. 45, Royal decree to the Seville Cabildo in regard to Magellan. Doc. 46, Report on regard to the agreement between Magellan and Falero on the one hand and Juan de Aranda on the other (November, 1518-August, 1519). Doc. 47, Detailed report of the expenses incurred in fitting up the fleet (August, 1518-September, 1519). Of these documents, eighteen have been published before, and the remainder, although they have probably been used in part or in abstract, appear for the first time in their entirety, so that there is now available for general use considerable new Magellan material. Documents are cited as appearing variously in Davenport, *Documentos Inéditos*, Hernaez, Llorens, Medina, Pastells, and Blair and Robertson, but there has been no attempt to cite in any fullness the authors who have published the bulls of Alexander VI. In spite of the declaration of the editor of the work that it is the aim merely to present the documents without comment, one feels that short prefaces to the documents, such as are presented, for instance, by Dr. Davenport in her *European Treaties*, would be of use. As to the mechanical appearance of the volume, it is not often that its equal or superior issues from any press, a noteworthy excellence being lent by reason of the special tough handmade paper on which it is printed, as well as by the types. Succeeding volumes will be watched for with interest, although not many will have the same interest for American history as this first volume of the series.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE VOYAGE OF THE MANILA GALLEON FROM ACAPULCO TO MANILA

The galleons usually left Acapulco for Manila in the latter part of February or the first weeks in March.¹ At first they were ordered to leave port before the end of March, but a law of 1633 required that they should set sail by the end of December, in order to enter the Philippines in March, or earlier.² It was the royal will that this order be "executed inviolably", and the viceroys were to be called to account in their *residencia* for its fulfillment. However, as the galleons usually reached Acapulco in December or January, their despatch before the end of the year was impossible. The original rule was in fact not only more practicable, but just as salutary, since it enabled a ship to reach Manila before the *vendavals* and *baguios*³ had set in. Little pretense seems to have been made of enforcing the regulation of 1633, for the instructions drawn up for the commanders of the galleons by Governor Valdés order them to clear their ships before April from Acapulco,⁴ as the original regulation had provided. This latter date was the limit of safety, and Governor Basco y Vargas expatiates on the danger of leaving in April, when "gusty southwesters" (the unfavorable *vendavals*), would be met at the islands, and the *naos* would have to put in at Ticao or Sorsogon to await a change of monsoon. Basco recommends, on the other hand, that they leave by the end of January or first of February.⁵

If undertaken in proper season the westward voyage of the galleons was as safe and easy as that in the other direction was wearisome and dangerous. Musing on the contrariety of the word "Pacific" as applied to this ocean, Gemelli Careri said: "In truth the Spaniards gave it this fine Name in sailing from Acapulco to the Philippines, which is

¹ Morga, *Sucesos*, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XVI. 200.

² *Leyes de Indias* lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 31.

³ *Vendaval*: A strong south by west wind. *Baguio*: Tagálog for "typhoon."

⁴ Instructions of Valdés, 1732, *A. de I.*, 68-6-38.

⁵ Basco y Vargas to Gálvez, August 18, 1777, *A. de I.*, 108-4-27.

performed very easily in three months without any boisterous Motion in the Sea and always before the Wind".⁶ "Cette navigation est très douce," wrote Père Taillandier, a French Jesuit who crossed by this way to China in 1709. "One does not have to fear contrary winds, and since the winds that blow are always fresh, they temper the heat."⁷ "Nothing interrupts the serenity of the sky in these regions", wrote Humboldt, who tells of the voyage of Francisco Maurelle in a mere ship's launch for 3000 leagues through those unruffled waters of the northern tropics.⁸ Because of its placidness it was often called *Mar de Damas*, or "Ladies' sea".⁹

Whatever misfortunes befell ships in this passage were due to late departure or to the blunders of incompetent pilots. If they reached the neighborhood of the islands even in late June they might find the *vendavals* blowing across the entrance of the Embocadero. At such times, to try to enter that labyrinth of islands and shoals with its swirling, shifting tides and currents, was to court destruction. The only recourse was to put into the harbor of Palapag or Lampon, or some other place in the vicinity, and wait for a change in the winds, or tie up there for the winter.¹⁰ The later the season the greater was the possibility of encountering contrary winds and storms from the region of the Ladrones to Cavite, until in September the peril from *baguios*, or typhoons, was at its height. It was under such circumstances that the *Concepcion*, which had left Acapulco on April 19, was wrecked at the Ladrones in 1775.¹¹

⁶ Churchill, *Voyages*, IV. 491.

⁷ Père Taillandier to Père Willard, February 20, 1711, *Lettres édifiantes et Curieuses*, XI. 389. "Voila un voyage de la Chine bien nouveau et bien singulier," said another French Jesuit who went out to China via Acapulco and the galleon. Père Nyel to Père Dez, May 26, 1705, *ibid.*, VIII. 141. The galleon of 1709 carried twenty-three Jesuits. Père Faure to Père de la Boesse, January 17, 1711, *ibid.*, XI. 271.

⁸ *Political Essay*,

⁹ Mendoza, *History of China*, in B. and R., VI. 138. "La navegation du Mexique aux îles Philippines est si commode que les femmes les plus delicates l'entreprendent sans crainte." Laharpe, *Abrégé de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages*, XV. 116.

¹⁰ "Palapag, donde suelen invernar las naos de Acapulco cuando llegan entrados ya los vendavales." Zuñiga, *Estadismo*, II. 64. Casimiro Díaz said of the galleon of 1681: "The *San Antonio* had not the good fortune to come in as far as the port of Cavite (a piece of luck which seldom occurs), on account of the vendavals having set in steadily." *Conquistas*, B. and R., XLII. 200.

¹¹ Anda to Arriaga, July 27, 1776, *A. de I.*, 108-4-27.

The ordinary time for the westward voyage was approximately three months. Of this about two months should be consumed in the passage to the Ladrones, about fifteen days thence to the Embocadero, and as much more to Cavite. However, even with favorable weather, conditions there could be none of the regularity of a schedule on this route. The *Santiago*, in 1595, left Acapulco on March 22,¹² and reached Manila on June 11¹³—in less than three months. The galleon of 1709 made the crossing in three months and eighteen days,¹⁴ and the *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, in 1729, in five days less.¹⁵ The *Santissima Trinidad*, which cleared from Acapulco, April 29, 1756, did not cast anchor before Cavite until the fifth of October—a voyage of five months and six days.¹⁶

The route to the islands lay far south of the eastward track of the *naos*.¹⁷ At some points they were separated by thirty degrees of latitude, and the only place where the course was identical was on the final stage through the islands. From Acapulco in about sixteen and a half degrees the ship dropped to about the tenth or eleventh parallel, or even nearer the Equator, in order to escape the calms that were sometimes encountered farther to the north.¹⁸ In this latitude she fell in with the steady easterlies that carried the vessel with little deviation for some 1,800 leagues. It then gradually rose to about the thirteenth or fourteenth parallel, until in sixty or seventy days out it entered the Ladrones.

These islands, discovered by Magellan in 1521, were peculiarly well adapted for a way-station for ships crossing the Pacific in either direction. The Acapulco galleons put in there with considerable regularity from early times.¹⁹ The natives brought out to them fish, cocoanuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, and water, in exchange for iron and other

¹² Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (1604), B. and R., XII, 224.

¹³ Morga, *Sucesos*, B. and R., XV, 77.

¹⁴ Père Taillandier to Père Willard, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Viceroy Casafuerte to the King, August 28, 1729, *A. de I.*, 68-6-18; Governor Cosfo y Campo to the King, July 16, 1729, *A. de I.*, 105-3-25.

¹⁶ *Diario del viage que hizo para la Nueva España el Piloto-maior Don Antonio Limarie Boucourt el año pasado de 1755 . . . en el Nario la Sma. Trinidad y N. S. del Buenfin*, *A. de I.*, 107-1-13.

¹⁷ Approximately the westward route of the galleons is shown in map 107-110, Shepherd's *Historical Atlas*.

¹⁸ Morga, *op. cit.*, XVI, 200-201. Basil Ringrose, the buccaneer, made the error of declaring that the Acapulco galleons followed the upper California coast. *The History of the Bucaniers of America* (1699), II, 39.

¹⁹ Morga, *op. cit.*

highly valued commodities. However, there was no formal settlement made until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Then, in 1668 a royal *cédula* ordered that the Acapulco galleons should put in here to leave the *situado* and *socorro*, or supplies for the small garrison and the missionaries.²⁰ The annual visit of the Acapulco ship was their only connection with the outside world, save when some westward-bound English privateer appeared and compelled them to give up part of their year's store,²¹ or in later times, when an occasional *patache* was sent to Guam from Manila. During the season of the year when the galleon was expected fires were kept burning at night on the windward side of Guam, in order that the *nao* might not pass through the group without sighting land.²² If the galleon touched here early in the summer the landing was easy; the unloading of supplies for garrison and mission, and the taking-on of water and provisions, was expedited; and the ship was soon on its way again to the westward. However, if the season were advanced the waters about the islands were rough, and landing in the rather exposed roadstead at Agaña difficult. At such a time the galleon might lie off the island a week before it could pursue the voyage.

From the Ladrones it was generally but a short sail of two or three weeks to the Philippines,²³ where the first land sighted was Cape Espíritu Santo on Samar.²⁴ In times of war the vessel determined its further course according to signals received from land. Sentinels were placed on such outlying points as Catanduanes, Viri, Bulusán, Borongan, and Batán, who were to inform the galleon by fire signals if the

²⁰ Real *cédula*, June 17, 1668, *A. de I.*, 68-3-8. Kotzebue said that during the last years of the line the *naos* seldom stopped at the Ladrones. *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*. (London, 1821), III, 84.

²¹ Dampier put in at Guam with Swan, and later with Woodes Rogers; and Anson touched at the group. "The Spaniards have a small fort on Guam with six guns, a Governor, and twenty or thirty soldiers. They keep it for the relief and refreshment of their Philippine ships, that touch here on their way from Acapulco to Manila." Dampier, *Voyage*. Of the governor, Padre Delgado said: "Hay en dichas islas un gobernador, que es oficio útil y descansado, porque tiene poco que hacer." *Historia*, 115.

²² Instructions of Valdés, 1732, *A. de I.*, 68-6-38; Anson, *Voyage*, 349.

²³ Morga said that it was usually made in ten or twelve days. *Op. cit.*, p. 202. However, the records of few galleons show so short a time. Gemelli Careri gives the time as fifteen to twenty days. *Op. cit.*, p. 482.

²⁴ Díaz, *op. cit.*, XXXVII, 255. Zuñiga says that the wooded slope of Bulusán on the east side of Luzon served as a lookout to sight the incoming galleons. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

route were safe from enemies.²⁵ In other events the vessel steered straight for the Embocadero, and thence made the best of its way through the straits to Cavite, which stage of the voyage might last from five days to five weeks. In case the *rendavals* had set in, and prevented further progress, the galleon put in at some port near the Embocadero, and wintered there, as the *San Antonio* did at Sorsogón in 1681.²⁶ Many galleons put in at Lampon, or at Palapag on Samar, while Governor Arandía, on the advice of the galleon pilots, ordered the *naos* to winter at Sisirán on the Camarines coast, in case they were unable to make their way to Cavite.²⁷

Though this course was followed with little deviation throughout the history of the line, a few galleons left the beaten track to venture on new paths. Probably the most famous of the innovators was Andrés de Medina. By his time the routes to and from the Philippines were well established, and the galleon navigation under such a routine régime gave little hope of adding to geographical knowledge, or of attempting discoveries which might add to the convenience and safety of the line itself. "It is notorious," said Medina, "that for the voyage to and from these islands there are routes that are shorter, more certain, and safer than those so far followed by the galleons. It is our duty to discover these."²⁸ Medina's projects also included the rediscovery of the Solomon Islands, long since found by Mendaña, but quickly abandoned. He secured the royal endorsement for his attempt, while the King also directed the viceroy to put Medina in charge of the outgoing galleon of the year.²⁹ As commander of the *San José* in 1663 Medina ordered his pilot to lay a new course, but the opposition of the pilot and of nearly everyone else on board, including the new governor, Salcedo, prevented the fruition of his schemes of discovery. A *junta* held on shipboard decided on his removal from command of the vessel, and on the reinstatement of the original general, García del

²⁵ "Instructions of Valdés, *op. cit.* In 1616, during the Dutch Wars, Viceroy Guadalcázar instructed the galleons to pursue the following course: by latitude twelve degrees to the Islands of the Barbudos, and of San Bartolomé, then up through the Ladrones in eighteen degrees, to Cape Bojeador, and down the Ilocos-Pangasinan coast to Manila. Guadalcázar to the King, May 25, 1616, *A. de I.*, 58-3-17. In 1745 the *Santo Domingo* reached Manila around northern Luzon. Concepcion, *Historia*, XII. 15.

²⁶ Díaz, *Conquistas*, p. 748.

²⁷ *Ordenanzas de Marina* (1757), pp. 26-28.

²⁸ From an undated and undirected letter in *A. de I.*, 67-6-9.

²⁹ The King to Viceroy Mancera, April 22, 1673, *A. de I.*, 105-2-3.

Fresno, who had been displaced by the viceroy to make way for Medina.³⁰ This man, who might have ranked with Urdaneta and Mendaña and Quiros, the conservative Salcedo declared "carried away by his fantasy", and he sarcastically remarked of him: "He everywhere pretends to be held as the greatest argonaut in his profession."³¹

Late in the same century Governor Cruzat y Góngora ordered the galleons to depart from the usual track 150 leagues east of the Ladrones, and to make their landfall at the Catanduanes instead of at Samar.³² Thus instructed, the *San Francisco Xavier* (Don Miguel Martínez), sighted the Catanduanes, but was unable to enter the Embocadero.³³ The next year the *Rosario*'s commander refused to obey the secret instructions which he opened after leaving Acapulco, and with the concurrence of his officers, held to the customary course to the islands. The King condemned what he considered a vagary of the Governor, as well as his disobedience to the order requiring the galleons to stop at the Ladrones.³⁴

Every phase of the navigation is illustrated by the experience of the *Santíssima Trinidad* in 1756.³⁵ After a most distressful voyage from Manila, the great galleon cleared from Acapulco for the Orient on April 29, 1756—too advanced a season to expect propitious conditions for the crossing. On that day the vessel dropped to seaward with the tide, after saluting the Castle of San Diego with fifteen guns, and soon falling in with the northeast trades, sped westward in her long, straight path. For weeks the pilot records each day "*tiempo claro y hermoso*" —the halcyon weather of June seas in the tropics. One day the galleon covers fifty-one leagues.

The sixteenth of July the Ladrones are sighted. Some Jesuit fathers and the Governor visit the ship, which takes on water and some provisions before continuing its voyage on the twenty-first. Winds are already contrary, and a month later, when the ship should already long

³⁰ *Traslado de autos que se hicieron, etc.*, 1664, *A. de I.*, 67-6-9.

³¹ Salcedo to the King, July 16, 1664, *A. de I.*, 67-6-9. "Medina highly resenting this Affront, as soon as he came to the Islands, stole away in a small Boat to *China*, in order to go over from thence to *Madrid*, to make his Complaint to the King; but there being no News ever heard of him, it is suppos'd he was kill'd by Pyrates." Gemelli Careri, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

³² Instructions for commanders of the galleons, June 9, 1699, *A. de I.*, 68-3-8.

³³ Governor Zabalburú to the King, May 26, 1702, *A. de I.*, 68-3-8.

³⁴ The King to Governor Zabalburú, July 1, 1704, *A. de I.*, 105-2-4. Zabalburú became governor in December, 1701.

³⁵ *Diario del viage que hizo, etc.*, *op. cit.*

have been in Manila Bay, the water supply is dangerously low, for there are about eight hundred persons on board. In the *junta* that is called to consider the situation the pilot offers to give up his extra allowance of water, and receive an equal portion with the rest. All the night of the twentieth of August the weather is "detestable", writes Boucourt, the French pilot, "the sea is high, and the *vendaval* is blowing, with gusts of rain". A week later Cape Espiritu Santo is made out in the distance, and the voyage up the straits soon begins. Scarcely has the galleon entered the Embocadero when fourteen boats come out with rice, chickens, pigs, and "other fruits". But they bring no water, which is most needed. However, the fresh food gives them great comfort, and for days the ship is surrounded by a fleet of small boats from Bulusán and from Capul and the other islands roundabout. Inside the entrance it is becalmed, with the tides running like a mill-race, and with the channel lying among whirlpools and eddies that make the pilot's task most difficult.³⁶ Farther up the straits on September 18 the galleon comes upon two champans from Romblón, bound for Manila with oil and cacao, and heavily armed against a Moro attack. More calms among swirling currents, then furious, cutting, squalls, and finally, at half after five on the afternoon of October 10, the galleon casts anchor before Cavite. "I praised the mercy of God," says the sore-tried pilot, "and gave thanks for the patronage of Maria Santísima, our Lady of Solitude, for having freed us from so many perils, and enabled us to survive one of the roughest voyages of this navigation."

WILLIAM LYITLE SCHURZ.

LOPE DE AGUIRRE (ca. 1495-1561)

Through the kindness of Mrs. Theodoor de Booy, the following sketch, written by her husband in January, 1919, very shortly before his sudden and regrettable demise, is published here. Mr. de Booy was a scholar of original and vigorous thought and his adopted country could ill spare him. His short paper published in this REVIEW in February, of this year, "On the Possibility of determining the First Landfall of Columbus by Archaeological Research" was the last or almost the last of his writings submitted to the press by Mr. de Booy.

³⁶ "Prosiguiendo en busca de los Naranjos con muchos sustos y trabajos por verme entre los remolinos que no me dejara govenir el navío. *Ibid.*

Lope de Aguirre was a native of Oñate, a town of the Basque Province of Guipuzcoa. History does not relate the name of his parents, but it is certain that Aguirre was of the *hidalgo* class. Details of his early life are unknown. Aguirre states in a letter to King Philip II of Spain that he came to the Spanish colonies in his youth and, in 1561, had been there for 54 years. It is on record that he lived in Peru for over twenty years, before his figure commanded historical attention. Here, his occupation was that of a horsetrader. He took part in various rebellions against the Spanish Crown, such as the uprising of Castilla against Inojosa, the *corregidor* of Las Charcas. For this he was pardoned, but he was forced to flee from justice shortly afterwards for taking part in another mutiny, this time under the leadership of Salduendo. So frequent were his attempts to upset the established order of government in Peru that he became known as Aguirre the madman.

It is quite probable that Lope de Aguirre is the same as the soldier Aguirre, mentioned by the historian Garcilasso Inca de la Vega. This soldier was condemned, in 1548, to the punishment of a flogging by the *alcalde mayor* of Potosí, named Esquivel. Despite the protests of Aguirre that this indignity should not be meted out to a gentleman of Spain, the punishment was proceeded with. Aguirre followed Esquivel for over three years, from post to post, until he finally succeeded in murdering his enemy in Cuzco. If this be the same Lope de Aguirre, we have here the explanation of the latter's monomania on the subject of oppressive colonial rule.

Finally, in 1560, Aguirre joined the expedition of Pedro de Ursúa which numbered some 300 men and left the city of Lima with the intention of seeking the fabled land of El Dorado. When these forces reached the Amazon River, we find Aguirre the leader of a plot which had for its purpose the murder of Ursúa and the appointment of Fernando de Guzmán as commander of the expedition. This plot was successful; Ursúa and several of his adherents were murdered while Guzmán was made chief of the expedition. Aguirre was appointed *Maestre del Campo*. The mutineers drew up a proclamation in which the events leading up to the murder of Ursúa were set down. It is in this proclamation that we first find mention of the name Aguirre was to carry subsequently, he signing himself "Lope de Aguirre, el Traidor". Shortly after this mutiny, Guzmán was appointed Prince of Tierra Firma and Peru by his followers. He did not live long to enjoy these high-sounding titles, being killed, together with a number of his adherents, by Aguirre and his men, when the expedition was ready to

embark upon the brigantines that had been built for the purpose of descending the Amazon. These murders took place under the most revolting circumstances, causing even the hardened followers of Aguirre to murmur against the cruelty of their chief.

Aguirre now took command. The mutineers sailed down the Amazon, entering the Atlantic on July the first, 1561. A course was laid for the island of Margarita off the northern coast of Venezuela. The expedition landed here at the small town of Paraguache which is to-day known as El Puerto del Tirano as a remembrance of the cruelties practised by Aguirre on the island. By trickery, Aguirre managed to capture the governor of Margarita and various officials. This having been done, the expedition sacked the town of Asunción and looted the Royal Treasury. Shortly afterwards, Aguirre murdered the captive officials. This was not enough to satisfy the bloodthirsty impulses of "El Tirano," so he took the opportunity to kill a number of his own men at the same time, including his principal officer, Turriaga. In order to indicate the diseased and capricious state of mind of Aguirre it may be mentioned that he subsequently buried Turriaga with great pomp.

When "El Tirano," or "El Traidor"—Aguirre is known by either name—learned that Francisco Fajardo, a loyal vassal of the king of Spain, was coming to the island to give battle to the invaders, he set sail, about September the first, 1561, for the mainland, reaching the port of Borburata on the 7th of this month. Committing all sorts of excesses, the mutineers marched on the city of Barquisimeto after first passing through the town of Valencia. It was in Valencia that Aguirre wrote his famous letter to King Philip of Spain, setting forth the many evils of the Spanish colonial rule and upbraiding the monarch for his lack of practical interest in the welfare of the colonists. The letter, which in many respects is a just summing-up of the iniquitous conditions existing on Tierra Firme, is ended and signed as follows: "Because of thine ingratitude, I am a rebel against thee until death. Lope de Aguirre, the Wanderer".

Aguirre and his followers put Barquisimeto to the sack. The city had been hurriedly vacated by the governor, Pablo Collado, a man who made up in resounding words what he lacked in courage. Collado left a letter in Barquisimeto offering full pardons to Aguirre and his men if they would return to their allegiance. Aguirre showed, in his answer to this letter that despite his ferocity, he was well-equipped with a sense of humor. His answer to Collado commences "Muy

magnífico Señor, Entre otros papeles que de Vd. md. en este Pueblo se han hallado, estaba una carta suya a mi dirigida, con mas ofrecimientos que Estrellas ay en el Cielo".¹

It was fortunate for the infant colony that there were men of braver blood than Collado among its leaders. Don Pedro Bravo who arrived from Merida with reinforcements undertook the campaign against Aguirre and finally managed to take Barquisimeto from the rebel who fled to San Felipe. The majority of the mutineers now took advantage of the offers of pardon that were held out by the Spanish authorities, leaving Aguirre with but one loyal follower, named Llamoso. When "El Tirano" saw that all was lost, he entered the room in which his daughter had taken refuge and killed her with his poniard, saying: "Commend thyself to God, my daughter, for I am about to kill thee that thou mayest not be pointed at with scorn, nor be in the power of anyone who may call thee the daughter of a traitor". While the historians of this period declaim at length against this murder as the crowning act of Aguirre's cruelty, this final deed seems to an unbiased mind to be creditable rather than otherwise.

After this, Aguirre appears to have given up the idea of further defense and surrendered to García de Paredes, after first indignantly refusing to give his sword to a mere underling, on the plea that one of his rank capitulated only to a gentleman. Despite the fact that Paredes assured Aguirre his life would be spared, the soldiers persuaded the former to allow them to kill "El Tirano". This was promptly done, the act being carried out by means of the arquebuses of two of the soldiers. So died "El Tirano" on October the 7th, 1561. His body was quartered and thrown to the dogs, while his head was taken to the town of Tocuyo where it was exhibited.

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Simon, Fray Pedro: *Noticias historicas de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme.* Cuenca, 1627.

¹ That is "Very magnificent Sir: Among other papers of your Grace which have been found in this town, was a letter addressed by you to me, which contained more offers than there are stars in the heavens."

Southey, Robert: *The Expedition of Orsua and the Crimes of Aguirre.*
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NOTE: This bibliography is incomplete, although it gives the more important authors who make mention of Lope de Aguirre.

THEODOOR DE BOOY.

A recent notice issued by the American Historical Association is as follows:

The American Historical Association offers a prize of \$250 for the best unpublished essay in American military history submitted to the Military History Prize Committee before July 1, 1920.

The essay may treat of any event of American military history,—a war, a campaign, a battle; the influence of a diplomatic or political situation upon military operations; an arm of the service; the fortunes of a particular command; a method of warfare historically treated; the career of a distinguished soldier. It should not be highly technical in character for the object of the contest is to extend the interest in American military history; but it must be a positive contribution to historical knowledge and the fruit of original research.

The essay is not expected to be less than ten thousand or more than one hundred thousand words in length.

It should be submitted in typewritten form, unsigned; and should be accompanied by a sealed envelope marked with its title and containing the name and address of the author; and a short biographical sketch.

Maps, diagrams or other illustrative materials accompanying a manuscript should bear the title of the essay.

The Committee, in reaching a decision, will consider not only research, accuracy and originality, but also clearness of expression and literary form. It reserves the right to withhold the award if no essay is submitted attaining the required degree of excellence.

For further information address the Chairman of the Military History Prize Committee.

The Committee consists of the following: Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., *Chairman*, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.; Professor D. R. Anderson, 310 Rowland Street, Richmond, Va.; Mr. Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Major Fred M. Fling.

HISTORICAL CONTEST IN CUBA

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba (The Historical Academy of Cuba) is conducting an historical competition, which is described in a circular of January 8, 1919, issued by the Academy under the signature of its president, Sr. Evelio Rodríguez Lendián. A translation of the terms of the contest follows:

1. The subject of this contest is "Historia documentada de la villa de San Cristóbal de la Habana; su fundación, traslación y desarrollo durante los siglos XVI y XVII."

2. The works presented must be written in Spanish, must be original and unpublished, and the text, excluding the appendices, notes, bibliography, index, and table of contents, shall consist at the least of one hundred and fifty pages of typewritten material, in size of type called "pica" on sheets eight and one-half by twelve inches (English measurement), of twenty lines to the page and sixty-eight letters to the line.

3. Each author shall sign his work with a pseudonym, and shall accompany his production with a closed and sealed envelope containing his name and address, and written on the outside his pseudonym and the first line of the work.

4. The works shall be delivered at the office of the secretary of the Academy (San Lazaro, numbers 202-204, altos), or sent by mail in a registered package to the Secretary of this institution. The latter shall deliver a receipt in every case, on which shall appear the title, pseudonym, and first line of the work. Those persons sending their works by mail shall designate, without naming themselves, the person to whom the receipt is to be sent.

5. The time limit for the presentation of works shall expire at twelve on the thirtieth of September of this year.

6. No work shall be admitted to the contest which is accompanied by any communication, letter, or paper of any kind by which the name of the author might be ascertained.

7. None of the works presented shall be returned, but all shall be conserved in the archives of the Academy.

8. Those taking part in this contest shall conduct themselves with the necessary discretion so that the works presented by them may not be known before the award of the Academy is announced.

9. One first and one second prize shall be awarded. The first prize shall consist of a gold medal, a diploma, three hundred pesos in money, and one hundred copies printed by the Academy of the edition of the work gaining first prize. The second prize shall consist of a silver medal, a diploma, and one hundred copies of the edition of the work meriting this reward which shall be printed by the Academy.

10. The relative merit of the works presented shall not entitle them to the first or second prize. In order to obtain these awards, the works must have in structure and form the value which in the judgment of the Academy renders them worthy of such rewards.

11. The works gaining the awards shall be published by the Academy at its own expense, in editions of one thousand copies each, and these editions, as well as any reprints of the same made by the institution shall be the property of the Academy.

12. If one work or more than one work, in addition to those gaining the awards, are deserving, in the judgment of the Academy, of the honor of publication, they shall be inserted in the *Anales*, in the order agreed upon.

13. Within the month of November of this year of 1919, the Academy shall in full assembly determine the awarding of the first and second prize; and within the month of December, shall hold a solemn and public meeting at which the envelopes corresponding to the works receiving the award shall be opened, the names of the respective authors announced, and the prizes delivered to the latter.

14. As soon as the contest is finished, the authors may publish at their own cost as many editions as they wish of the works presented by them, whether they have been awarded a prize or not, and these editions shall be their own property. The works receiving the awards may not, however, be published by their authors until after the Academy has published them.

15. As many persons as desire may take part in this contest, whether they are citizens of Cuba or foreigners, or whether they reside within the territory of the Republic or not, with the sole exception of regular members of this Academy whom our rules prohibit from taking part, as aspirants, for an award in the contests held by the Academy.

THE CHILEAN-UNITED STATES EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

The proposed exchange of professors between Chile and the United States has been ratified by the government of Chile which has appropriated \$12,000 to carry out the project during the coming year. The President of the University of Chile and the Minister of Public Instruction of the Republic have announced their readiness to receive as the first exchange professor from the United States Doctor Charles E. Chapman, Associate Professor of Hispanic American History at the University of California. This is the first definite result in plans formulated by the late Professor H. Morse Stephens whereby the University of California was to become a centre for exchanges of professors and students with the leading Hispanic countries of the world. An exchange between the universities of Madrid and California of professors Rafael Altamira and Herbert E. Bolton was contemplated for 1919-1920, but largely due to the death of Professor Stephens this project has been postponed for a year. Discussion has also been opened with a view to a series of exchanges between the University of California and the National University of Mexico. The exchange with the Republic of Chile is, however, on a different and somewhat unique footing. At the same time that Professor Stephens was approaching

the authorities of the University of Chile with a view to a single exchange for one year only, a committee of distinguished educators from Chile, headed by Dr. Don Pedro Aguirre, appeared at Berkeley, and proposed a series of permanent exchanges, not only of professors of universities but also teachers of high schools and technical schools, including young women as well as men. The original plan of Señor Aguirre's committee was to make similar arrangements with other institutions of this country as well as with the University of California, but, after discussion, it was decided to make the University of California a clearing-house for all exchanges in this country. This plan was accepted by the President and Regents of the University of California, and Dr. Chapman was designated as the first exchange professor from this country, provided this nomination should be acceptable to the Republic and the University of Chile. This arrangement by a decree of President Sanfuentes of Chile, has been concurred in. The exchanges are not to be limited to professors of the University of California or even to teachers in the schools of the state. An earnest effort will be made in every case to select the candidates who will best serve the purposes of the exchanges. In each year there are to be not less than two or more than four exchange professors or instructors from each country, of whom one at the most is to exchange with a professor of the University of Chile, while the others are to engage in secondary school work. In all likelihood, however, the exchanges at the outset will be limited to two from Chile and the United States respectively. It is absolutely essential that the exchange professors and instructors shall be able to speak the language of the country in which they are to teach; ordinarily the teachers of secondary grade will be called upon to teach English, unless they have the training enabling them to teach such technical subjects as manual arts, agriculture, etc. More latitude as to subject-matter will be allowed to the exchange professors. A second essential for candidates is that they shall come from a suitable school with which an exchange can be arranged. The plan is for each country to pay the salaries and expenses of its own exchange professors and instructors, while the country to which they are sent receives their teaching free of charge. In the case of Chile the expenses of the project are to be advanced as the result of a congressional grant, but in the United States each school (or the exchange instructor himself) will have to take care of the costs of the exchange, although it is hoped that in time some better way of financing may be found. Not only because of the expense involved but also because it

is desired to offer an opportunity to the Chileans to teach in our best schools, the openings for secondary school teachers are limited practically to those of our large cities who can persuade their local board of education to grant them a leave of absence on these terms and to accept a Chilean exchange instructor (free of charge) in their places. Ordinarily, too, they will be teachers of Spanish, since that is most likely to be the subject which the instructor from Chile will prefer to offer. It is to be noted further that the Chilean school year begins in March and ends in December. This means that instructors from the United States will take out their leaves of absence to begin in January, at which time the instructors from Chile will arrive to take their places. It is expected that the first United States Exchange Instructor will be Mr. E. M. Gregory, head of the Spanish Department at the San Francisco Polytechnic High School.

A new departure in the teaching of American history is being made at the University of California. For some time Professor Bolton has been advocating a course in the history of the Western Hemisphere, which in a way should parallel general courses in the history of Western Europe. The death of Professor Stephens, who had given the introductory course in the University—the famous "History 1"—made necessary the reorganization of lower division instruction in history and gave Professor Bolton an opportunity to test in practice what had been only an idea. To take the place of History 1 two courses have been organized. A general course in modern European history is being given by Professor Lebrick to a class of over one thousand students, and Professor Bolton, assisted by members of the department, is trying out his idea, with a class of over nine hundred. Two lectures a week are given, and thirty-three quiz sections have been formed, each student attending one quiz section a week. The general conduct of the course is in charge of Professor Bolton, but Professors Chapman, Priestley, and other members of the Department are giving part of the lectures. The course will embrace, in general, the following topics: the European background of American history; the discovery and early exploration; the establishment of the European colonies (Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, Swedish); colonial policies, institutions, and society; colonial expansion and international rivalry; the revolt of the English colonies; the revolt of the Spanish Colonies; the establishment of the American republics; their development, interrelations, and relations with Europe; the growth of Canada; the Americas today.

The courses offered in Hispanic American History in California University are daily becoming more popular among the students. In addition to the more than nine hundred students enrolled in Dr. Bolton's general course on the history of the Americas (much of which has to do with Hispanic American history), students are enrolled as follows in the several courses offered in Hispanic American history: In Professor Bolton's courses—175 undergraduates and 25 graduates. In Professor Chapman's courses—330 undergraduates and 6 graduates. In Professor Priestley's courses—100 undergraduates and 13 graduates.

Rev. Samuel G. Inman is giving courses on Hispanic America in Columbia University and in Union Theological Seminary. The course in the former institution is described as follows:

The aim of this course is to study historic relations between Hispanic America and the United States, with a view to discovering how past misunderstandings may be avoided and future relations improved. Topics treated will include racial inheritances of Hispanic Americans, Bolivia's international doctrine, Monroe Doctrine, Pan-American conferences, elements of union and division in Hispanic-American countries, new policy of the United States in the Caribbean, Mexican American Relations, Hispanic America, and the World War, human qualities in Pan Americanism.

The New York Sun, of October 6, says of the course:

The problems are being approached from the viewpoint of the psychology of the people, their histories and the influence of the climate and other elements which enter into making the history of "Latin" America different from that of North America. The course is just beginning and will last for three or four months, meeting each Tuesday evening. . . . The course takes in all the continent as a unit as well as the countries separately in the points where there is a difference big enough to warrant the special study. The similarities and differences of all the peoples who constitute "Latin" America will be touched upon. One of the important questions to be studied will be the tightening of the ties of international friendship.

The course in Union Theological Seminary is announced as follows:

"Latin" America. Designed to prepare for missionary service in "Latin" America. Introductory study of racial inheritances and historic development following independence; unity and diversity of various republics; distinguishing characteristics of "Latin" American peoples; inter-American friendship; development of evangelical missions; present problems; growth of cooperation and unity.

The Chile and Northern News Association, which was incorporated recently, has changed its name to the more appropriate one of Chile-American Association, and has opened an office in New York. The Association still has as part of its program in promoting good relations the sentimental and literary side as well as the practical subjects relating to trade and industry. It is of special interest to know that there are a number of Chileans in the United States who have come here with the special purpose of studying the educational methods of the United States, many of whom have mastered the English language exceedingly well.

Dr. Don José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, author of *Carácter de la literatura del Perú independiente* (Lima, 1905) and of *La historia en el Perú* (Lima, 1910), has lately been elected a corresponding member of The Hispanic Society of America. Dr. de la Riva-Agüero is a grandson of that José de la Riva-Agüero who was Perú's first president. After being exiled, President Riva-Agüero went to Europe where he married Princess Caroline of Looz et Corswaerem, in Brabant. Their son, J. de la Riva-Agüero y Looz-Corswaerem was prominent in Peruvian public life for many years. At present Dr. José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, in addition to his literary and historical work (including an exhaustive study of the history of the Dutch and English pirates on the Peruvian coast) is head of the Partido Democrático Liberal which includes most of the young "intellectuals" of Peru.—PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Dr. Julio C. Tello, well known among anthropologists for his careful work at Nazca, has lately returned from a five months' trip in the Department of Ancachs where he made a profound study of the "Chavín" civilization supposed to have been associated in some way with that of Tiahuanaco. It is expected that, when his results are published, duly illustrated from rich material he has brought back, the current views as to Peruvian pre-Columbian history will have to be profoundly modified. Dr. Tello is at present engaged in installing an archaeological museum in the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos at Lima. The work of Dr. Tello is being carried on under the personal auspices of Dr. Don Javier y Ugarteche, rector of San Marcos.—PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Dr. Max Uhle is at present in Ecuador carrying on archaeological researches under the direction of Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño.—
PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., has been called from the State University of Louisiana to Hamilton College, Clinton, New York.

Dr. Percy S. Fliffin has been appointed Professor of History in Mercer University.

Doctor N. Andrew N. Cleven, formerly of the San Diego High School and Junior College, is Assistant Professor of History in the University of Arkansas. The last year was given up by Dr. Cleven to the war service of the Government, he having been Research Assistant in the Bureau of Research of the War Trade Board, Washington, D. C., from October to July. For three years he gave a course in the History of Hispanic America and the Countries of the Pacific in San Diego. Dr. Cleven is convinced that the term "Latin American" History should give way to "Hispanic American" History, a change in keeping with the more correct terminology espoused by the editors of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

At the coming meeting of the American Historical Association in Cleveland, one of the morning sessions on Tuesday, December 30, is to be devoted to a "Conference on Hispanic American History". Papers are to be presented as follows:

- "Latin American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine", by William S. Robertson, University of Illinois.
- "The Changed Attitude of Latin America toward the United States", by W. E. Dunn, University of Texas.
- "The Recent Attitude of the Brazilian Press towards the United States and the Monroe Doctrine", by William R. Manning, Department of State.
- "The Future of the Monroe Doctrine", by Hiram Bingham, Yale University.

Discussion: James A. Robertson, *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Charles E. Chapman, University of California.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES FOR COLONIAL HISTORY

The article printed below is a translation of a paper entitled "Fuentes Documentales para la Historia Colonial", read by Dardo Estrada, assistant director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Montevideo, July 28, 1917, before the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico. The paper was published by the above named institution with a preliminary discourse (pp. 5-9) by Dr. Gustavo Gallinal.¹ In his brief talk, Dr. Gallinal notes that the creation of the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico of Uruguay has provided a common meeting ground for men whose studies are devoted to matters directly related to national science, thus fulfilling a hope long cherished in Uruguay. Sr. Dardo Estrada has devoted his life to bibliographical, historical, and geographical studies, publishing in 1912 his *Historia y Bibliografía de la Imprenta en Montevideo*.

The following discourse on documentary sources is of importance, for the study of the growth of the national feeling in Uruguay, for the development of institutions, and for local history. It should be of service especially to those whose studies are leading them more and more to specialize in definite fields.

I

This lecture, in a certain sense, and so far as I am personally concerned in it, is only a program of work for future development with respect to colonial history. As this program is executed and developed with documentary factors, although they do not circulate

¹ Instituto Histórico y Geográfico: *Fuentes Documentales para la Historia Colonial*. Conferencia leída el Día 28 de Julio de 1917 por Don Dardo Estrada, con un Discurso Preliminar del Doctor Gustavo Gallinal. Montevideo, Imprenta y Casa Editorial "Renacimiento", Librería "Mercurio" de Luís y Manuel Pérez, 1918. Pp. 39.

in print, I must be permitted to set forth summarily and very briefly the present judgment relative to the manner of working over historical material at its sources—a judgment applied to the collection of documents which is the reason for this exposition.

In historical material there is generally felt an assertion that is not discussible, namely that the foundation of all knowledge of the past is rooted in the indications which historical epochs continually leave of themselves, whatever be their nature, whether remains, monuments, tools, medals, written documents, literature.

Bernheim, the most trustworthy of the German authors who have treated of historical methodology, on perceiving this assertion and referring to the sources of knowledge divides them into two classes, namely, indications and tradition. By indications he understands the deeds or consequences of a deed which still exist; and by tradition, the idea or interpretation transmitted by that deed down the years through the human intellect.

In this way, Bernheim, and together with him almost all the authors of treatises, establish a category on historical sources.

In the first term they include the deeds or their results in their strictest sense, acting through themselves, without any commemorative or future purpose, as for instance, a human remainder such as language, institutions, the products of industry, administrative and social documentation; while the order called "tradition", represented by everything that may have a recording purpose, such as medals, pictures and sculptures, annals, chronicles, and memoirs, occupies a subordinate position.

It does not escape the authors of treatises that this subordination of the traditional order to that of indications is up to a certain point unfair, for if a given epoch be studied solely by its indications, although it is true that we do subtract one of the factors which contributes most in setting the understanding awry, namely, the greater or less degree of passion or of interest injected by the person who transmits to posterity an event of which he was the author or spectator, in exchange we neglect to take advantage of a very efficacious aid furnished us by the memoirs of a contemporaneous generation because of their better information.

On this account the methodology of today counsels us not to take account solely of the indications of Bernheim nor the contemporary testimony, but to make a methodical arrangement of both materials which may permit us to include the most significant factors of the proc-

ess which it is desired to place in relief, by showing the very essence of the epoch by the study of groups of documents organized into systematic series, and with the richness and necessary abundance, in order to show the woof of the historical process in all its amplitude.

The dominant standard among the present-day Uruguayan historical authorities has been to give the preference in their studies to all the traditional factors. So true is this that one may rest assured that there remains no memoirs or individual relation touching our history that is not known to us; while on the other hand, many groups of documents which might explain colonial epochs and events decisively are found almost unexplored.

To give information on one of these, not indeed, one of the most important, although one very useful and necessary for a more exact knowledge of our past is the purpose of this lecture, since the Historical and Geographical Institute in the second article of its ordinances has expressly enacted that it will form and publish collections of documents, and since it is that body which must undertake with true scientific spirit this series of activities ahead of all speculative labor.

Today, perhaps for us who are making investigations in the colonial past, the most urgent labor is that of gathering together the necessary elements from which that history will be written later by ourselves or by a more fortunate generation.

II

The present Archivo de la Escrivanía de Gobierno dates from the creation of the government at Montevideo in 1750.

In it are conserved all the *expedientes* originating in the government, namely, the political, criminal, administrative, and litigious.

As the governor of Montevideo was also Judge of all ships entering the port, the archives contain everything relating to the entrance and clearing of sea-going vessels; and in his character as subdelegate of the royal treasury, all the *expedientes* of an economic nature and those relating to landed property. Although it is quite certain that the governor of Montevideo did not hear many matters in the last instance, and that they were referred to the authority of the viceroy or to the royal pretorial *audiencia* at Buenos Aires, as soon as the matter was judged and sentenced, the *expediente* was returned to Montevideo with the provision taken thereon, in order that it might be executed and filed in the archives.

This was the procedure during the Spanish régime. During the Portuguese and Brazilian period of control, there was added those *expedientes* which originated in the intendancy of the army and province, and those relating to the chamber of justice.

In order that the *expedientes* might be consulted, there exists an index, at once both alphabetical and chronological, which is of great use for the study of the documents. This was compiled by the present archivist, Fernando H. Marfetán.

Some time ago, for the purpose of publishing them as a documentary contribution, I made ten very voluminous groups from the material in those archives. These documents, copied entire and with absolute faithfulness to the original spelling, in accordance with the dictates of the most modern historical criticism, I divided as follows: 1) Political and military government; 2) Royal treasury; 3) The cabildos; 4) Supplies; 5) Ecclesiastical affairs; 6) Collection of cedulas; 7) Foundations; 8) Royal customs; 9) Public lands; 10) Contraband and confiscation.

Within each section, I selected only the really significant factors, about which I grouped the whole mass of documents belonging to the process, as abundantly as was necessary to demonstrate its true historical character.

In them appears and moves the whole administrative and social life of the city and of the country in its most absolute sense: all the administrative connections of the colony with their secular institutions, scarcely modified by time throughout their centuries of life; and all the social connections unfolding about those institutions, only adapting themselves to those institutions so far as was permitted by the needs of a formative epoch which created its own institutions until the time of its greatest differentiation, which the 25th of May, 1810, ushered in suddenly.

This collection embraces also the period included between the initial moment of the struggles for emancipation and the year 1825, as a necessary complement to a better understanding of the deep foundation of some of those institutions, which being outstripped in the revolutionary period after the suppression of the régime that gave them life. Their survival, although denatured and precarious, marks the point of transition between the colonial epoch, and the days of the Republic.

In this lecture, in giving special attention to each group, I shall limit the indication to very few pieces, simply those necessary to give an approximate idea of the richness of each division, in order that I may not make this exposition as long as it is arid and fatiguing.

(1) Political and military government

This is the most heterogeneous and the largest group of documents, and refers, in general, to the last years of the colony. It is composed of 79 *expedientes*, of which I shall mention chiefly one relating to the English control of Montevideo. This *expediente* refers almost entirely to the goods landed by the English traders, free of duties, but which, when the city was returned to Spanish control, owing to this *expediente*—drawn up in the royal pretorial *audiencia* of Buenos Aires—had to pay all the *Derecho del Círculo*, the city of Montevideo being considered for this sole purpose as a place where goods were placed in bond. The purchasers, who appear there, were not all from Montevideo, for there were also some from Buenos Aires who made their purchases through their agents in Montevideo. The *expediente*, which is quite bulky, abounds in intrigues and accusations, and has an economic as well as a political character. The original is in very poor condition.

In the year 1808, appears a package of loose papers and rough drafts, as well as some originals relative to the first movements of the revolution.

There are official despatches and letters from Liniers and Elio that arose through the criminal actions brought in Buenos Aires with respect to Princess Carlota, Paroissien, Alzaga, and Rodriguez Peña.

Many confidential documents of considerable interest are found, which explain the events of those days, as for instance, the original minutes taken on the night of the arrival at Montevideo of Colonel Goyeneche and the rough drafts of two long and very confidential official despatches from Elio to the Council of the Regency, which are especially interesting. These rough drafts must be originals, for after signing them, Elio made some corrections of detail in them with his own hand.

As there has always been much talk of the thefts and looting of which our archives have been the object, the most famous of which was the one that was occasioned upon the withdrawal of the troops of Alvear in 1815, I include here the inventories which were drawn up before the government notary, one relative to the documents which were able to be recovered and the other to those which were not found after the sack. These inventories are very interesting, not only because they inform us of what we lost, but also because they show up that act of vandalism in its true proportions.

In the year 1816 appears an *expediente*, which by its character, is unique in these archives. It is a petition from Presbyter Manuel Amenedo Montenegro, priest of San Carlos, requesting that oriental [i.e., Uruguayan] citizenship be granted him. As proof of his adhesion to the cause of the patriots, he presents many letters from Artigas, Alvear, Otorguez, and Rondeau, acknowledging the receipt of gifts of money and goods made to the patriotic armies during the years 1812-1816. Artigas calls him a friend in his letters and treats him with deference.

In 1825, there appears a package with traces of a confidential *expediente* relative to an investigation of the persons present at the secret meetings held, as was charged, in the outskirts of the city, apparently for the purpose of celebrating the triumph of Bolívar in Huamanquillo. *Expedientes* of this kind are quite numerous, especially for the Portuguese and Brazilian period. The persons and even the *lampoons* which circulated in manuscripts were the subjects of *expedientes*.

There was a pamphlet, entitled *La Plutónica*, which had been published in 1823 by the Press of the Brothers Ayllones. This was denounced to the officials of justice as appears in an *expediente* entitled "Infraction of the printing law." Only the title and two or three insignificant details are left, although enough to make one suspect that the *expediente* treats of a political writing. The *alguacil* withdrew these pamphlets in order to destroy them, not only from the shops where they were on sale, but as the names of the purchasers were obtained, they were demanded one by one and destroyed. However, it is evident from the *expediente* that perhaps one copy may have been saved, namely, that acquired by Canon Vidal, who said when it was demanded that it had been *worn out*.

(2) *Royal Treasury*

In this section, I have grouped everything relating to public property and the manner of its manipulation; certain *expedientes* called "Temporalities," which were those relating to the property of the Society of Jesus, which upon the expulsion of that body became the property of the Crown, and were administered on its account; and the entire departments of the *Tithes and Excise*.

This group is rounded out by the various lists and salaries of employees that exist, and certain *expedientes* of auctions, of services, and of public incomes effected by the Royal Treasury, such as that of the *faena de lobos* of 1789, which contains data and news of interest.

The various attempts of the royal treasury to regulate the department of taxes and duties are also included, such as that initiated by the Junta of Planters in 1804, which is the most important and richest in reports and throws considerable light on various economic matters of the epoch. In 1825, at the breaking out of the revolution, it had not yet terminated. Although incomplete, this is a capital piece for the study of economic history.

(3) *The Cabildos*

The institution of the cabildos, including the *expedientes* of their erection, functioning, and operation in the interim from the first years of society in Uruguay, those *expedientes* relating to personal merits and services and those contributed collectively by the nuclei of population or by the institutions representing them, forms the largest section.

The oldest *expediente* is that of the creation of the cabildo of Santo Domingo de Soriano in 1566, which has been published in part.²

The other *expedientes* relative to foundations are as follows:

1782.—*Expediente* of the creation of a half cabildo in Santa Lucia.

1788.—*Expediente* relative to an increase of *regidores* in the cabildo of Montevideo.

1793.—*Expediente* relative to the sale of the offices of *regidores* in the cabildo of Montevideo.

1800.—Erection of an elective cabildo in San José.

1804.—Increase of four members in the cabildo of Montevideo.

1805.—Definitive creation of the cabildo of San José.

1812.—Creation of the cabildo of Maldonado.

1825.—Creation of the cabildo of Paysandú.

The above are complete *expedientes* of the creation of cabildos—for there is a constancy in various others from which their history may be reconstructed—[as for instance], of the creation of the cabildo of the Colony of Sacramento.

These documents are not exclusively royal *cédulas* of "erection" or "confirmation," under which title they are known, but generally, except in the case of the cabildo of Montevideo, which has a direct foundation, they are created upon the petition of the inhabitants of the places specified. The petitions are generally made in long expositions in which are recounted the history of the place, its vicissitudes, the services lent by it to the crown, accompanied by statistical data of

² By Isidro de María, in *Páginas Historicas*.

the population and the wealth of the environs, and all the explanatory news that was thought opportune for interesting the goodwill of the viceroy.

Expedientes relative to the friction of the cabildos with the governors and viceroys are also very numerous.

Something is already known of the quarrel of 1782 between the *corregidores* Haedo and Bauzá and Governor del Pino, which resulted in the royal *cédula* of December 4, 1784, adjusting the quarrel in a manner favorable to the *corregidores*, as is recounted by Bauzá in his *Historia de la Dominación Española en el Uruguay*. However, there are many documents relative to the quarrel and jurisdiction, which were generally reviewed by the monarch.

In the matter of police and administration, their number is enormous. Edicts alone, relative to the Carnival, on the cleaning of the city, the bad treatment of slaves, public holidays, appraisement of products, the administration of the lands of the city, lighting, public cleanliness, and taxes on doors and windows, are found and all matters falling under the jurisdiction if the term "policing of the city," would embrace an incalculable number of pages.

On the rivalry between the different jurisdictions, of the cabildos, there are several *expedientes*, the most interesting of which is that which the cabildo of Mercedes initiated in 1824 against the cabildo of Soriano, composed of 159 folios; and that initiated in 1825 by the inhabitants of Minas and Rocha in the government intendancy, in which they claimed the right to elect their *alcaldes* freely, but to which the cabildo of Maldonado was opposed alleging that it had always appointed them directly as commissioned judges of its jurisdiction.

There is a vast group of *expedientes* filled with the personal affairs of the members of the cabildos, and others in which the whole capitular body had a share.

In 1794, Matias Sánchez de la Rozuela brought suit, because in the Corpus Christi procession of that year, the priest of the Metropolitan Church did not give him a lighted torch as he did the other members of the cabildo, either because there was not a sufficient number of torches or simply because he forgot it.

Although *expedientes* of this class are abundant, the most interesting is one of 1812, in which the cabildo appears as a body to protest before the governor to the effect that in the festivities and solemn acts with which the promulgation of the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 was celebrated, the cabildo and royal tribunal of commerce went to com-

munition on that day in a single body, and the cure of the Metropolitan Church, the virtuous priest, Juan Lloveras did not give the "peace be with you" to the royal tribunal of commerce until after he had given it to the members of the cabildo when the turn of the people came and the other inhabitants who were present at the ceremony. This curious and prolix *expediente* is nevertheless very interesting. In it the prerogatives of the royal tribunal of commerce and of the cabildo respectively are set forth very clearly.

When we reach the year 1825, there comes in a series of *expedientes* relating to "exemptions" to accept capitular posts in the cabildos of San José, Canelones, and Santa Lucia. Almost all those exempted were very prominent men in the revolution, among whom was Juaquín Suárez. In regard to exemptions a bulky *expediente* among the most interesting of all, appears in the year 1803. There is no inhabitant of any importance in the city who does not figure in it. These exemptions in 1803 originated in the creation of bodies of militia in which all the most distinguished men of the city figured as officers and subalterns—men who protected by the military *fuero* refused to accept the "burdens of the republic" as they called it.

There are also several legajos relative to the public schools of the cabildo.

This group relating to the cabildos contains 87 *expedientes*.

(4) *Supplies*

The Department of *Supplies* and everything relating to the control of business is massed together in one group, which forms of itself a large chapter of economic history.

Among the various aspects presented by this group, the incessant struggle of the cabildo against the monopolies appears and may be followed easily. The most interesting of the *expedientes* of this nature is that relating to the water supply in 1793, because of the energetic opposition shown against it by the cabildo, and in particular by the syndic of the city, Matías Sánchez. The latter, with very solid, although very poorly expressed arguments, defended the rights of the inhabitants splendidly in a long report which the cabildo made its own.

The monopolists offered in exchange for the exclusive right of supplying the city with water to give 200 pesos annually toward the building of the Metropolitan Church. There are 36 *expedientes*.

(5) *Ecclesiastical affairs*

This is the least bulky of all the groups, a fact which is explained perfectly if one bear in mind that the government of Montevideo had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction of its own, and that it depended on the bishopric of Buenos Aires, in whose archives lie all the canonical *expedientes* of the erection of churches and chapels, as well as all those relating to ecclesiastical merits and services.

However, this group does not fail to have an interest of its own if the characteristic nature of one of its divisions be considered which is formed by a series of *expedientes* initiated by the citizens and inhabitants of certain places of the region, and in which the erection of churches and parish houses was argued before the civil authority. Thus the foundation of churches takes on a free and spontaneous character. There are *expedientes* relating to the churches of Maldonado, Paysandú, Pintado,³ Viboras, Solis, Pan de Azúcar, and Durazno. Some *expedientes* refer to the churches of Montevideo, and there are *expedientes* also that refer to the convent of St. Francis and the House of Exercises, founded in 1813.

One *expediente* relates to the rebuilding of the church of La Colonia in 1823, which is especially interesting.

During the period of the Portuguese invasion, the royal troops which occupied the city of La Colonia converted the church into a powder magazine. Control having been secured, they only occupied the upper part, notwithstanding the protests of the cabildo and the whole body of the inhabitants, as appears in the respective records. On this account several open cabildo meetings were held, until on the 14th of December, 1823, when there was a severe storm, a bolt of lightning set off the powder magazine, destroying not only the church but causing the loss of all its jewels and other furnishings. As this occurred in the early morning hours when the crowds are thickest, they had to lament the death of several persons. This *expediente* was negotiated in the Intendency of the Army and Province, and the church was rebuilt at the cost of the public treasury, and all its sacred ornaments and vessels were likewise replaced.

In the year 1805 appear an *expediente* relative to the construction of a church in Puerto Deseado, Patagonia, which has some very interesting details.

³ There are two *expedientes* for this place, one of which was published in *Revista Histórica*, under the direction of Luis Carve, while the other is still unpublished.

Relative to the church of Maldonado there is a legajo which merits special mention. It tells how in 1810 the priest and vicar of Maldonado, one Gabino Fresco, loaned to Juan Mendoza, a citizen of the place, a large sum of money belonging to the fabric of the church, which in that epoch was lent out at the rate of five per cent annually for the purpose of increasing the funds. Juan Mendoza was a wealthy citizen, the owner of several vessels plying as far as the Rio Grande. But Mendoza having died during a passage of arms, apparently fighting in favor of the Portuguese cause, his widow, taking advantage of this fact, succeeded in getting the Baron de la Laguna to intervene in her favor, and the payment of the interest was excused and she settled by paying only the sum received by her husband.

Among the series of expositions and replies and counter replies presented by the various parties engaged therein, appears a great number of facts and details very interesting for the social history of the period. In regard to money, it was not only Juan Mendoza who had borrowed at interest, for various others appear and even the cabildo took its share, until the capital having become very greatly diminished, by order of Delegate Barreiro; the last of it was taken in 1818, because of the urgent necessities of the province.

With respect to the jurisdiction of curacies in the region there are several *expedientes*. The most interesting for the abundance of its date of general interest, and for the rank of the persons intervening therin, is that sustained by the curacy of Santa Lucia against that of Canelones, which is quite bulky. Dr. José Valentín Gómez was priest of Canelones.

There is also a regular number of appointments as parish priests in the region.

This group is formed of 47 *expedientes*.

(6) *Collection of Cédulas*

The collection of royal *cédulas* and royal orders which I have formed is quite extensive and embraces the most diverse matters. Some of them are found attached to various *expedientes*, being either the originals or included in authorized testimonials.

Among the most important are the following:

Royal order of November 24, 1783, relative to the treatment to be given to chaplains in the army.

Royal order of 1786, in regard to the trade of the Indies.

Royal order of August 12, 1792, in regard to the quarrel between the viceroy and the *alcaldes*.

Royal order of July 19, 1798, establishing in Buenos Aires a tribunal of medicine independent of that of Castile. There is another royal order of 1803 establishing the same tribunal in Montevideo, independent in its turn of Buenos Aires.

Royal order of June 8, 1805, ordering the judges and guardians of minors to account for the amounts appearing in the causes in which they intervene.

Royal order of December 15, 1806, in regard to the militia *fueros* on land and sea.

Royal order of March 14, 1807, in regard to the establishment of the fees of the admiralty court.

Royal order of May 17, 1807, in regard to the method of mourning employed by the military.

Royal order of December 12, 1807, in regard to the houses of the Inquisition.

Royal order of January 20, 1809, thanking the tribunal of trade of Montevideo for the services rendered to the Crown during the English invasions. There is another order of the same date thanking Mateo Magariños for personal services.

Royal order of July 9, 1809, creating in Montevideo the court of appeals.

There are 74 *expedientes*.

(7) *Foundations*

Only four registers exist, and one book relative to the removal of the town called "Las Viboras" to the banks of the creek known as "Las Vacas" where it still remains under the name of Carmelo.

One of the registers has already been published,⁴ namely, that relating to the city of Montevideo. The others are as follows: the register of Santa Lucia, together with its commons, plantations, and ranches, accompanied by a map in colors;⁵ and the registers of Melo and Batoví. The last has no special interest for us, for as it is located in 30° 36', all its division of land lies in the present limits of Brazil, except a small triangle formed by what is today called "the small fork of the two Pirai," which falls toward the Cerro Largo.

⁴ In vol. I. of *Revista del Archivo Administrativo*, directed by Angel G. Costa.

⁵ A copy of this map exists in Archivo de Indias, Seville. That cited here is the original.

Of the Villa of Batoví, there appears a topographical map compiled by Félix de Azara.

In the said register of Batoví is found the extensive record then called "Populations," signed by the Marquis de Avilés, March 18, 1800, relative to the foundation of towns in the government of Montevideo.

(8) *Royal customs*

It is made up of all the *expedientes* of ships entering and clearing by sea.

They are all alike and have simply a statistical interest for economic history. One notes in them a great monotony, interrupted only at times, as in the case of Tomás Salas, who in 1794, while on his return trip to Spain with a full cargo and his papers according to regulations, combated by strong winds, had to put back to Montevideo. Before the royal officials had time to form a "Summary information" in which the hundred eyes with which Spain watched over the entrances and clearances of its ports might suspect that he had designs of clandestine cargo, he went ashore and before his Majesty's notary made the "most formal protest against the winds and storms" which had forced him to enter the port although it was not his port of destination.

In 1791, there appears a timid attempt for the habilitation of the port of Maldonado, which was due to Cipriano José de Melo. The port was habilitated together with that of La Colonia in 1821, as appears in the *expedientes* relative to the matter.

(9) *Public lands*

As the origins of present private ownership are varied, I have grouped together in this division a few prime pieces, which not only mark the diverse origins but also explain how ownership of land was acquired in the colonial period and during the successive dominations suffered by the country until the definitive constitution of nationality in 1830: From gifts made by the viceroys and governors to certain individuals, as a reward for personal merit or for services rendered to the Crown to those originating from direct sales and alienations made by cabildos, governors, and viceroys and even simple comandantes, under the simple authority of settlers.

The most general within the colonial origins are those made by denunciation of individual persons before competent authority, or in

the royal pretorial *audiencia* of Buenos Aires where, after the taking of the evidence of the nature of the unappropriated and waste land and the proper making of a survey, a judgment of auction was given, which was to take place at the doors of the audiencia, with the publication according to custom and before the notary of the government—in judgment generally the only bidder was the one who made the denouncement.

Within the formulary of the *expedientes* appear the most characteristic details of the curial literature of the epoch, which today we regard with a certain indulgence, but which then were living formulas which were observed even to their very last details.

When the last announcement was made and ownership was adjudged to the denouncer, the herald never left at the end of the formula without wishing a "Much good may it do you" to the purchaser.

And on taking possession, the one who acquired the land with raised hand walked through the field now belonging to him, cried out, pulled grass and branches from the trees, and gave orders to his peons, and if no one of the inhabitants or owners of adjoining land cited to appear at the ceremony objected to these acts of ownership, the official of justice thereupon noted that the "real, effective, and corporal possession" mentioned in the *Recopilación Indiana* had been taken.

Many other origins exist and many other authorities gave ownership of the land from colonial days to the famous edict of the Baron de la Laguna of November 21, 1821, which reduced the unappropriated lands of the province to a moderate agreement, and opened a special register for the confirmation of preceding titles which I have tried to represent so far as possible.

This group also complements the group relating to "Foundations," inasmuch as the foundations always have annexed to them the division of house lots, plantations, and ranches as occurs with the foundations of Montevideo, Santa Lucia, Melo, and Batoví, which forms another of the known origins, namely, that of the conditional gift made by the founder with express powers to make a gift of the land according to certain limitations: namely, the living on the land for five years and the cultivation or working of the land given, or the construction, if it be the matter of a house lot in town.

(10) *Contraband and confiscation*

A long chapter on the social history lies in the enormous mass of *expedientes* of contraband and confiscations between the years 1750 and 1810.

The 37 *expedientes* of confiscations of which I have a copy comprehend one full year and form a small picture of the whole movement of clandestine hides on the frontiers of Brazil.

As these *expedientes* were formed with great attention to detail, approximate statistics may be obtained in them of the wealth of the cattle in Uruguay during this period.

Contraband through the customs in Montevideo forms another division not less interesting, with respect to the goods of commerce, and many goods, not properly being contraband, are included under the class of *prohibited* goods, of which the royal treasury took possession.

The parties of wardens stationed along the frontier in order to put a stop to smuggling, often had bloody encounters with parties of the smugglers and other troublesome people who infested the wilderness. The Cerro Largo was the field where most of these encounters took place.

Some *expedientes* report real battles. In 1797, the then captain of Blandengues, José Artigas, in command of a flying party, followed the track of the Portuguese Mariano Chaves for thirty leagues, overtaking him on the precipitous shores of the creek of the Hospital, his advance guard under the command of Sergeant Manual Vargas exchanging shots with him, and the latter losing two men from Blandengues and having another one wounded.

Choosing among several alternatives, Chaves abandoned the hospital and penetrated into the fort of Santa Ana, where he was captured by Artigas in person and sent to Montevideo together with the confiscated goods that he had. This action is related in a long report, already known in part,⁶ and which, written in the hand of Artigas, accompanies an *expediente* of confiscations.

One year before, in 1796, a party of wardens which was scouting along the shores of the Rio Negro surprised and forever defeated one Juan Ignacio Miño, alias, Caracará, the most skillful hide and cattle thief of his time, who was taking toward the frontier a large herd of wild cattle seized from the jurisdiction of the Cerro Largo.

There is almost no *expediente* of confiscations which does not narrate a similar deed. There are 48 *expedientes*.

⁶ An extract of the part relating to Artigas was published by Dr. Lorenzo Barbagelata in *Artigas antes de la Revolución*.

III

And now, I wish to give an impression relative to recent research in a foreign archives, inasmuch as it refers in part to a group of documents which completes in part one of the sections of the archives we are studying.

Some time ago, while at Asunción in Paraguay, I was permitted to visit the Archivo Nacional which is in charge of that illustrious man of letters, Juansilvano Godoi.

As I was by chance looking over a register, I came upon the appointment of an assistant priest of Paysandú made in 1807 by the Bishop of Asunción and confirmed by the Governor Intendant of Paraguay.

Surprised at the discovery, and at the fact that the authorities of Paraguay had a share in the affairs of the government of Montevideo, I made a very lengthy research in the legajos pointed out to me by the paleographist Mariano Bareiro, an employe of the archives, and made an assortment of documents relating to Uruguay, especially one group that has to do with landed property in our country, and of which I am going to give an account.

The reason for the existence of those documents in the Archives of Asunción is clear.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the communal régime was maintained for 33 years, namely from 1767 to 1800, when Viceroy Avilés abolished it, and the towns were left with their native calildos and other employes or occupations of all the colonial governments.

The land occupied by the Society of Jesus with its doctrinas went to form the government of Misiones, being divided into several departments. To the department of Yapeyú, the southernmost, were assigned both shores of the Rio Negro as far up as the Cuareim, penetrating into the ranches almost to the center of the present republic.

When the lands were redivided, the Indians induced by their natural laziness, began to abandon them, and these lands having been occupied by Spanish settlers from Montevideo, the latter finished by pressing in on the Indians so closely by alleging that the lands were abandoned and unappropriated that they forced the intervention of the Viceroy. *Expedientes* were formed, in which the Marquis de Avilés declared that there were no unappropriated lands within the jurisdiction of the towns of the Guarani. New registers were made following the ruins of the ditches, the hills, and the landmarks, and better rights were established.

The governor of Yapeyú, Francisco Bermudez, reports that in one suit of dispossession, a Spanish deforciant told an Indian woman that he would "show her his title to the ownership of the land". The Indian woman replied: "What I can prove is that my forbears and myself were born here, and you must convince me that you brought these lands from Spain".

Ultimately, many of these settlers leased the lands of the Indians—a lease which was in practice a fiction. All the leases were without payment. From one relation of the Spanish settlers who had settled on the lands of the town of Yapeyú, I take the following at hazard.

"Rafael Ramírez, in the district of Vera, without payment."

"José Axi, in Paysandú, without payment".

"Santiago, the husband of the *Correntina*, in Queguay; gives meat and a horse to the postboys".

When Captain Jorge Pacheco founded the town of Belén, on the Queguay (not yet the town of Yapeyú) in 1801, the governor of Paraguay, Bernardo de Velasco, as governor intendant of Misiones brought suit against the intendancy of Buenos Aires for the possession of the shores of the Uruguay from Rio Negro northward. The *expediente* was paralyzed shortly after by the English invasions. The last provision bears the signature of Liniers.

This group of documents involves an important problem of jurisdiction apart from the interesting aspect it presents in relation to the history of our landed property. Up to what point did the government of Montevideo reach in Indian legislation, and what was its boundary with the intendancy of Misiones? In the "Declaration" of the Marquis de Avilés, that no unappropriated lands are found among the Indians, it is stated that the land is not the property of the natives, but that it is always included in the Crown and that the Indians are only tenants. The registers and divisions establish the fact that the land is given at a quitrent, and this is the first trial of tenancy in our country.

Ladies and Gentlemen: This group of documents made up of elements of the Archivo de la Escrivandería de Gobierno is capable of being greatly extended. Not only in what refers to the divisions already described, but various new points of gravitation may be formed, about which other aspects of economic and social life may be developed, and which it has been impossible to develop within the narrow limits of this brief review.

If the group were completed and published, we should see an entire process linked up and made organic, which all the living forces of the city and of the colonial region contribute in forming.

The detached institutions of the group would appear in the place really occupied by them in the social medium which they had created; and some meritorious figures now obscured would appear showing forth the real share they had in the formation of the social body, out of which, with the lapse of time, was to spring the future nationality.

NOTES

PERIODICALS IN PARAGUAY

The following list is taken from pp. 158-159 of *Paper, Paper Products, and Printing Machinery in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay*, by Robert S. Barrett (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918), which is "Special Agents Series" no. 163 published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Newspapers and Stated Publications in Asunción

La Tribuna, Palmas 425; afternoon daily; established 1915; 8 pages, 16 by 22 inches; circulation, 3,500. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; Mergenthaler; three typographs (German). Foreign subscription price, \$12 per annum; advertising rates, \$2.50 per inch per month.

El Diario, Estrella 352; afternoon daily; established 1904; 6 pages, 16 by 22 inches; circulation, 3,000. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; two Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$10 per annum; advertising rates, \$2.75 per inch per month.

El Liberal, Palma 281; afternoon daily; established 1912; 8 pages, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 2,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$10 per an.; advertising rates, \$2.50 per inch per month.

Los Principios, Libertad 47; afternoon daily; established 1908; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$12 per an.; advertising rates, \$2 per inch per month.

El Nacional, Villarica 211; afternoon daily; established 1916; 6 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$10 per annum; advertising rates, \$2 per inch per month.

Patria, Alberti 214; afternoon daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 26 inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$10 per annum; advertising rates, \$1.50 per inch per month.

Comuneros, Benjamin Constant 180; afternoon daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 14 by 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 1,000. Foreign subscription price, \$10 per annum; advertising rates, \$1.50 per inch per month.

El Noticiero Alemán, Independencia Nacional 275; biweekly in Spanish and German; 8 pages, 9 by 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 1,000. Local subscription price, \$2 per annum; printed by H. Krause.

Revista del Comercio, Palma 182; bimonthly bulletin of the Chamber of Com-

merce; established 1911; 16 pages, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, \$2 per annum.

El Economista Paraguayo, Avenida Pettirossi (Villa Nanduti); weekly commercial journal; established 1909; 8 pages, 9 by $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches; circulation, 1,000. Foreign subscription price, \$4 per an.; advertising rates, \$0.62 $\frac{1}{2}$ per inch per month.

Other pubs. in Asunción: *Prometeo*, Ayolas, esq. Jejui, *El Radical*; *El Bien*.

Newspapers outside of Asuncion

Concepcion: *El Municipio* (weekly); *El Mensajero* (weekly).

Encarnacion: *El Imparcial* (weekly); *La Voz del Interior* (weekly); *El Patriota* (weekly).

Ita: *El Itaño* (weekly).

Luque: *La Juventud* (weekly).

Paranguari: *El Progreso* (weekly).

Pirayu: *General Diaz* (weekly).

Villa Rica: *El Civico* (weekly); *El Orden* (weekly); *El Progreso* (weekly).

LIST OF ECONOMIC ITEMS REFERRING TO HISPANIC AMERICA

Items published in *Commerce Reports*, March-September 18, 1919

Activities of American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico. No. 208, September 5.

Advertising company organized in Lima. No. 163, July 14.

Aerial mail service for Colombia. No. 189, August 13.

Aerial navigation in Uruguay. No. 194, August 19.

American agricultural implements in Mexico. No. 204, August 30.

American firm buys Uruguayan cement works. No. 175, July 28.

American shipping in Rio de Janeiro. No. 162, July 12.

American textile machinery preferred in Colombia. No 158, July 8.

American trade-marks pirated in Mexico. No. 184, August 7.

Argentine cereal prices. No. 207, September 4.

Argentine credit to allies. No. 177, July 30.

Argentine customs revenues. No. 178, July 31.

Argentine economist writes of United States trade with Latin America. No. 171, July 23.

Argentine export duties for July. No. 158, July 8; *id.*, for August, No. 182, August 5; *id.*, for September, No. 208, September 5.

Argentine exports for first six months of 1919. No. 207, September 4.

Argentine government interested in airplanes. No. 192, August 16.

Argentine learning to make its own shoes. No. 195, August 20.

Argentine notes. No. 173, July 25.

Argentine proposed bond issue. No. 217, September 16.

Automobile markets in the West Indies. No. 160, July 10.

Bean crop of northern Lower California. No. 194, August 19.
Bill proposes control of next Cuban sugar crop. No. 185, August 8.
Binding twine for Uruguayan farmers. No. 154, July 2.
Branch of Royal Bank of Canada in Buenos Aires. No. 166, July 17.
Branches of Yokohama specie bank in Brazil. No. 179, August 1.
Brazil grants permission to organize aerial service. No. 159, July 9.
Brazilian commercial delegates visit Swansea. No. 216, September 15.
Brazilian government aid for livestock importation. No. 217, September 16.
Brazilian market for hosiery and snap fastenings. No. 200, August 26.
Brazilian trade with Portugal. No. 208, September 5.
Brazil's budget for the year 1920. No. 181, August 4.
British bank to establish branches in Rio Grande do Sul. No. 154, July 2.
British jewelry exhibit in Buenos Aires. No. 204, August 30.
British jewelry representative visits Montevideo. No. 153, July 1.
Buenos Aires shipping for first three months of 1919. No. 179, August 1.
Business failures in Argentina. No. 178, July 31.
Cable concession in Uruguay. No. 192, August 16.
The Cacao crop in the Dominican Republic. No. 208, September 5.
Canal construction in Brazil. No. 206, September 3.
Catalogues desired for Mexico City. No. 189, August 13.
Catalogues desired for Rio de Janeiro consulate general. No. 172, July 24.
Cattle raising leading industry in Bolívar, Colombia. No. 154, July 2.
The Chilean market for fuel. No. 205, September 2.
Chilean nitrate movement. No. 156, July 5.
Chilean nitrate production and exports for June. No. 201, August 27.
Chilean nitrate production during May, 1919. No. 171, July 23.
Clearing house at Montevideo. No. 213, September 11.
Clothing factory in Ciudad Juarez. No. 178, July 31.
Commercial conditions in Ecuador during May. No. 173, July 25.
Commercial conditions in northern Dominican Republic. No. 165, July 16.
Commercial notes from Brazil. No. 175, July 28.
Commercial travelers' fees in Latin America. No. 159, July 9.
Condition of the principal banks of Rio de Janeiro. No. 155, July 3.
Credit terms in Colombia. No. 163, July 14.
Cubans are buying jewelry. No. 206, September 3.

Customs duties in Nicaragua. No. 177, July 30.
Decreased Mexican garbanzo crop. No. 181, August 4.
Demand for lumber and cement in Monterey. No. 174, July 26.
Demand for windmills in Argentina. No. 179, August 1.
Dental gold by parcel post to Uruguay. No. 173, July 25.
Desirability of opening mouth of Magdalena River. No. 175, July 28.
Development of petroleum resources in Cuba. No. 169, July 21.
Disposition of goods not duly retired from Chilean customhouse. No. 170, July 23.
Division of landed estates in Argentina. No. 165, July 16.
Domestic production cuts down imports of footwear in Brazil. No. 212, September 10.
Dominican Republic bonus. No. 203, August 29.
Dry goods importers in San Luis Potosí, Mexico. No. 196, August 21.
Economic conditions in Quito. No. 163, July 14.
Embargo on exportation of coffee from Peru. No. 180, August 2.
Erection of fuel oil tanks in Cuba. No. 210, September 8.
Estimate of Brazil coffee crop. No. 207, September 4.
To Exhibit modern agricultural machinery in Mexico. No. 173, July 25.
Expenses connected with business in Mexico. No. 213, September 11.
Exportation of cattle from Venezuela to Cuba. No. 209, September 6.
Exports from Mexico during 1918. No. 172, July 24.
Exports from Paraguay to United States for six months. No. 207, September 4.
Exports from the port of Antofagasta during July. No. 216, September 15.
Exports of oil from Tampico for May. No. 172, July 24.
Exports of crude rubber from Brazil and Peru. No. 211, September 9.
Extension of Brazilian railroad. No. 210, September 8.
Financing Uruguay's export trade. No. 177, July 30.
Freight embargo lifted on Mexican and Interoceanic railways. No. 170, July 22.
Freight rates from Argentina. No. 206, September 3.
Furniture manufacturers' trade expedition to South America. No. 171, July 23.
To Further project for opening mouth of Magdalena River. No. 168, July 19.
Glove trade of Venezuela. No. 191, August 15.
Grapefruit crop on the Isle of Pines. No. 213, September 11.

Grapefruit crop prospects for Isle of Pines. No. 158, July 8.

Guadeloupe crops. No. 195, August 20.

Guayaquil market report for June. No. 195, August 20.

Hydroelectric investment opportunity in Mexico. No. 158, July 8.

Import duty on rice into Peru. No. 187, August 11.

Import of cotton goods and yarns into Martinique. No. 191, August 15.

Imports of coal in Brazil during April. No. 167, July 18; *id.*, during May, No. 194, August 19.

Improved agricultural methods in Trinidad. No. 182, August 5.

Improvement of Paraguayan commerce. No. 174, July 26.

Increase in loading charges at La Guaira. No. 197, August 22.

Increased postal money order business with Mexico. No. 189, August 13.

Increased surtax on parcel post packages into Mexico. No. 188, August 12.

Increasing Japanese trade with Argentina. No. 193, August 18.

Japanese commerce with Uruguay. No. 153, July 1.

June exports of rubber from Brazil and Peru. No. 197, August 22.

Large deposits of Brazilian iron ore. No. 181, August 4.

Latin American trade lists. No. 219, September 18.

Leather industries in São Paulo. No. 196, August 21.

Legal rate of interest in Dominican Republic. No. 193, August 18.

Legal requirements for operations of foreign and domestic corporations in Brazil. No. 207, September 4.

License fees of commercial travelers in Argentina during 1919. No. 181, August 4.

Lists, of importers, dealers, etc., in Latin America. No. 213, September 11.

Lists of importers in Latin-American countries. No. 190, August 14.

The Lumber trade of Bolivia. No. 187, August 11.

Machinery and supplies in use at nitrate mines. No. 166, July 17.

Mahogany stumps available in Nicaragua. No. 186, August 9.

Marine insurance in Argentina. No. 200, August 26.

Market for American made dyes in Brazil. No. 160, July 10.

Market for American tobacco in Mexico. No. 207, September 4.

Market for coal at Rosario. No. 164, July 15.

Market for condensed milk and straw hats in Para, Brazil. No. 216, September 15.

Market for empty sacks at Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. No. 155, July 3.

Market for fly swatters in Montevideo. No. 186, August 9.

Market for laundry soap in Uruguay. No. 163, July 14.

Market for men's ready-made clothing in Chile. No. 175, July 28.

Market for naval stores at Bahia, Brazil. No. 207, September 4.

Market for preserves, jams, and jellies in Uruguay. No. 216, September 15.

Market for telephone equipment in southern Brazil. No. 154, July 2.

Market in Mexico for knit goods. No. 206, September 3.

Match trade of Ecuador. No. 184, August 7.

Men's shirt and underwear trade in Trinidad. No. 184, August 7.

Mexican cattle exportation. No. 171, July 23.

Mexican garbanzo crop damaged. No. 163, July 14.

Mexican Pacific coast steamship service. No. 195, August 20.

Mexican steamship line resumes service. No. 178, July 31.

Mineral development in the state of Minas Geraes, Brazil. No. 216, September 15.

Mining output of Venezuela in 1918. No. 201, August 27.

Motor trucks in São Paulo. No. 194, August 19.

New banks at Curaçao. No. 207, September 4.

New Brazilian decrees affecting German interests. No. 193, August 18.

New Brazilian steamship service. No. 211, September 9.

New bridge over the Macara River, Peru. No. 195, August 20.

New coal mines in Colombia. No. 198, August 23.

New customs tariff of Guatemala. No. 157, July 7.

A New department store for São Paulo. No. 160, July 10.

New department store in Monterey. No. 216, September 15.

A New hotel in Rio de Janeiro. No. 154, July 2.

New oil region in Mexico. No. 172, July 24.

New ports in the state of Espírito Santo. No. 209, September 6.

New steamship service between Chile and Italy. No. 172, July 24.

New steamship line between France and South America. No. 213, September 11.

New Uruguayan export duties on animal products. No. 159, July 9.

Novelty-button trade of Mexico. No. 197, August 22.

Nursery stock in northern Argentina. No. 203, August 29.

Oil exports from Tampico district to United States. No. 212, September 10.

Packages for Cuba must not be closed against inspection. No. 158, July 8.

Panama Canal operations for May. No. 166, July 17.
Parcel post service at Baranquilla. No. 182, August 5.
Paving improvements in Bahia. No. 210, September 8.
Peruvian copper output for May. No. 176, July 29
Plans for improving Paraguayan steamer service. No. 173, July 25.
Practice of handling bills of exchange in Paraguay. No. 211, September 9.
Prices paid in Habana for charcoal. No. 216, September 15.
Probable sugar shortage in Mexico. No. 198, August 23.
Production of coffee in Chiapas, Mexico. No. 163, July 14.
Production of cotton and beans in Mexico. No. 154, July 2.
Projected service between Baleareic Islands and River Plate. No. 166, July 17.
Proposed new railroad service between Ibague and Ambalema, Colombia. No. 168, July 19.
Quebracho extract stocks and production for 1919. No. 171, July 23.
Recent damages to Mexican national railroads. No. 206, September 3.
Recent shipping and trade data for Montevideo. No. 154, July 2.
Renewal of trade between Mexico and Germany. No. 209, September 6.
Reopening of silver mines at Guanajuato. No. 173, July 25.
Reorganization of Brazilian steamship lines. No. 207, September 4.
Resumption of Marine transportation at Vera Cruz. No. 166, July 17.
Samples of Mexican cabinet woods. No. 219, September 18.
Sewerage of Montevideo. No. 179, August 1.
Shipping bananas from Colon-Cristobal to New York. No. 159, July 9.
Shoe factories in Brazil. No. 209, September 6.
Small coffee crop for Ecuador. No. 195, August 20.
Street railway material desired in Colombia. No. 205, September 2.
Sugar mills in the states of Bahia and Sergipe, Brazil. No. 166, July 17.
Sugar situation in Mexico. No. 208, September 5.
Trade conditions in the Antofagasta district. No. 176, July 29.
Transfer of Guatemalan electric plant to American company. No. 160, July 10.
Trinidad's trade in drugs and medicines. No. 183, August 6.
Underwear, hosiery, and furnishings in Paraguay. No. 212, September 10.

Uruguayan commerce for April. No. 179, August 1; *id.*, for May, No. 172, July 24.

Uruguayans to study traffic question in United States. No. 171, July 23.

Value of a simple picture as a trademark in Mexico. No. 174, July 26.

Venezuelan budget for current year. No. 184, August 19.

Venezuelan trade for first half of 1918. No. 185, August 8.

Visit of Spanish trade commissioner to Paraguay. No. 216, September 15.

West Indian customs conference finishes labors. No. 176, July 29.

Wheat crop in Lower California. No. 193, August 18.

Mr. T. Esquivel Obregón, the author of the article "Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico", which appeared in the May number of this REVIEW, writes as follows under date of a letter of July 16: "I consider of great value the Bibliography of the Mexican Revolution", by Mr. Jones, who says that he has taken his data chiefly from a book by Castillo which has not yet come into my hands. In this work I note . . . one slight error, namely, the attributing of two works to one single author, but which are really the work of two separate authors, although brothers. One of these books is *La Influencia de las Cajas Rurales de Crédito Mutuo a Favor del Fraccionamiento de la Propiedad Territorial*, which was written, as Mr. Jones says, by Don Alberto García Granados, a man most worthy of respect because of his integrity, his culture, and his keen desire for the public welfare. . . . The other book is *El Problema de la Organización Política de México*, which was written by Don Ricardo García Granados, also a man of the highest culture and integrity, but now a refugee in New York. . . ."

From a Washington press (that of Byron S. Adams), but a publication of the Government of the United States of Venezuela, has appeared within the last few weeks, a translation of *An Address of Bolívar at the Congress of Angostura (February 15, 1819)*. This translation, which was made by Francisco Javier Yáñez of the Pan American Union, was "ordered by the Government of the United States of Venezuela, to commemorate the centennial of the opening of the congress". The publication is an exact replica in English of the *Discurso de Bolívar en el Congreso de Angostura*, published in Caracas, 1919, which was noted in a recent issue of this REVIEW. The government decree authorizing the publication of the address will bear quotation in part:

Article 1. That a Spanish and an English edition of the address of the Liberator on the opening of the Congress of Angostura be published as a part of the commemoration by the Government of the United States of Venezuela of the centennial anniversary of the illustrious Assembly.

Article 2. Each edition shall consist of five thousand copies and each is to contain a portrait of the Liberator; this present decree; a commentary on the political ideas of Bolívar and the importance of said Congress; a photographic reproduction of the building where the Assembly met, and a fac-simile reproduction of the copy of the *Correo del Orinoco* in which the beginning and the end of this historic document were printed for the first time.

Article 3. The expenses involved in the execution of this decree shall be defrayed by the National Treasury, as required by law.

On his recent visit to Washington, the director of the National Library of Venezuela, Sr. Manuel Segundo Sánchez, was commissioned to take measures for the printing of the English edition.

Announcement is made by *The South American* of a book soon to be published in English, Spanish, and French, entitled *South America Past and Present*, by Luis Cincinato Bollo, who was formerly director general of the Civil Registry and Bureau of Demographical Statistics of Uruguay and founder of the *Demographical Yearbook of Uruguay*. Sr. Bollo is also the author of several books on geography, zoology, climatology, etc.

Ricardo Bustamante y Cisneros is the author of a timely and valuable treatise on the Indian communities, entitled *Condición Jurídica de las Comunidades de Indígenas en el Perú* (Lima, 1918).—PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Sr. A. Dollero, of Habana, is the author of a recently published work on the Province of Matanzas entitled *Cultura Cubana: Libro Histórico-Cultural sobre la Provincia de Matanzas (su Evolución desde el Siglo XVIII, en Letras, Artes, Ciencias, Instrucción Pública, etc.)*, which may be procured from the author. It is issued at \$6.00 in paper and \$7.00 bound. The contents of the volume, which is copiously illustrated with plates and text engravings, are as follows:

PARTE PRIMERA

A los lectores.

Chap. I.—Datos físico-geográficos sobre la Prov. de Mzas.—
El subsuelo.—Una excursión a San Miguel de los Baños.—El Censo.—Las Cuevas de Bellamar.

Chap. II.—Al llegar a Matanzas (Impresiones y reminiscencias históricas).

Chap. III.—Bibliotecas.—Fundación Caballero.—La Asociación Cívica Cubana.—Otros Centros de Cultura.—Deportes y Clubs.

Chap. IV.—La Prensa matancera y su evolución desde el año 1813.

Chap. V.—Sanidad y Beneficencia.

Chap. VI.—Visitas a los Hospitales de Matanzas, Ermita de Monserrat, Cuartel de Bomberos, Estación Sanitaria.

Chap. VII.—Filántropos.

Chap. VIII.—Justicia.

Chap. IX.—Representantes y Senadores por Matanzas.

Chap. X.—Las Obras Públicas en la Prov. de Matanzas.—Carreteras.—Puentes.—El Acueducto de Matanzas.—Ferrocarriles.

Chap. XI.—Evolución de la Instrucción Pública en la Prov. de Mzas. (Siglos XVIII—XIX—XX.)

Chap. XII.—Visitas a planteles de I. P. de Matanzas (Oficiales y Particulares).

Chap. XIII.—Beneméritos de la I. P. en la Prov. de Mzas.

Chap. XIV.—Eruditos.

Chap. XV.—Evolución de las Artes (El arte teatral y el arte musical). El arte pictórico.

Chap. XVI.—Historia del Liceo de Matanzas (Bosquejo).

Chap. XVII.—Evolución de las Letras (Literatos y Poetas).—Jurisconsultos.—Historiadores.—Oradores.—Hombres públicos.—Periodistas).

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Dr. Toribio Esquivel Obregón, fomer Minister of Finance in Mexico, is the author of a recent book which he calls “Essays on Hispanic American Sociology”, entitled *Influencia de España y los Estados Unidos sobre México* (Madrid, Casa Editorial Calleja, 1918). The volume, after a lengthy introduction by the author, is divided into five parts as follows: part 1 consisting of thirty-six chapters, being a discussion of the Constitution of the United States and somewhat of the Mexican government (the first chapter of this part being “Espíritu conciliador y conservador que predomina en la constitución angloamericana”; part 2, consisting of six chapters, treating of “Las instituciones municipales”; part 3, consisting of eight chapters, treating of “El problema del indio.—Cómo lo plantean los Estados Unidos”; part 4,

consisting of four chapters, treating of "Datos históricos sobre la propiedad territorial de México"; and part 5, consisting of five chapters, treating of "Interpretación económica de la historia de México". It is understood that Dr. Esquivel Obregón has translated this volume into English and that its publication in this country may be looked for. In his preface, the author states that he was inspired to write his book after reading Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, which he says "was a series of surprises to me, which produced in my mind, not new ideas, but the consciousness of those ideas that had been working themselves out in me, and which I had not yet formulated with clearness to myself, and indeed I would not have considered myself authorized to give utterance to those ideas before seeing them not only in type, but demonstrated by facts taken from Anglo-American political history—facts which although entirely distinct, proved the theses which the political events of Mexico with irrefutable logic had been forcing on me as firmly established truths". There is a promise of another possible book, namely, one treating of the Monroe Doctrine from the Hispanic American viewpoint and other matters. Dr. Esquivel Obregón is at present residing in New York. As will have been gathered from his recent contribution to this REVIEW he is opposed to the present régime in Mexico. A full review of his book will be published in a later issue of this periodical.

The Reverend Samuel Guy Inman, well known in Hispanic America, as well as in many sections of the United States for his work in connection with the work of the Young Men's Christian Association (Committee on Coöperation in "Latin" America), has recently published through the Association Press, New York, a book with the striking title *Intervention in Mexico*. The foreword is a vigorously written endorsement of the book and the things for which it stands by Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University. The reader is not left in doubt as to the author's sentiments from the very first page to the last. Mr. Inman, who likes Mexico and the Mexicans, through knowledge gained through personal contact, pleads that the internal troubles of Mexico be settled from within instead of from without. The work is a discussion, from many angles of the Mexican question, all arguments leading to the single conclusion of the un-wisdom of foreign intervention. In the present temper of many citizens of the United States, it will not be strange if the volume meet with some hostility, but, on the other hand, the sentiments expressed

will find warm approval in many quarters. The book is worth a calm and judicious reading, for the author has given considerable thought to its content, and whether one agree with him in all things or not, he must acknowledge that the work has been written with sincerity and with an endeavor to see the Mexican side. The material is treated under six chapters as follows: Various aspects of the problem; Is the present disturbance in Mexico a real revolution; What kind of a man is Carranza; What Mexicans think of Americans; The present situation in Mexico; Future relations between Mexico and the United States; and an appendix on a proposed University in Mexico. The book will be discussed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

Mr. Philip Ainsworth Means has in preparation a work entitled *Aspectos Anthropológicos de la Literatura Andina*, which is to be published in Lima by *Mercurio Peruano*. The volume, which will have a prologue by Dr. José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, will treat of racial influence on Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Bolivian history, and especially of the literature of that group of countries.

Professor Bernard Moses, who must ever be remembered gratefully by students of Hispanic American history for his notable contributions to this field of study, has produced in his *Spain's Declining Power in South America* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1919), another volume, which will become, like his previous works, one of the landmarks in the study of Spanish colonization. In this book are discussed in the fourteen chapters: The beginnings of a new society; State of the Spanish dependencies in South America, 1730-1750; The Spanish-Portuguese boundary treaty of 1750 and the war of the Seven Reductions; The expulsion of the Jesuits; The creation of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata; The revolt of Tupac Amaru; The revolt of the Comuneros in New Granada; The conspiracy of Gramuset and Berney; The reorganization of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata; Awakening interest in science and politics—Mutis and Nariño; Lima and Santiago at the end of the century; The state of Venezuela and Miranda's expedition; The British capture and loss of Buenos Aires; Peru and Chile at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his last sentence, the author sums up the end toward which he has worked, as follows: "The growth of a new spirit, the development of a will to be free, the rise in the creole-mestizo society of the power and the determination to organize itself for emancipation, and the long struggle to overthrow the

ancient régime fill a new period in the history of Spanish South America". This work will be reviewed in a later issue of this periodical.

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has recently published as no. 185 of its Special Agents Series, *Advertising Methods in Chile, Peru, and Bolivia* by J. W. Sanger, of Los Angeles, a man well known in the advertising field. As a preparation for his report, Mr. Sanger visited the countries embraced therein. A similar report has already been made for Cuba and one will shortly appear for the east coast of South America. To quote from the letter of submittal in the present report, "Mr. Sanger found Chile the only country on the west coast that presents, despite its remoteness from modern merchandising practices, an encouraging field for general advertising, particularly through the medium of its excellent daily newspapers and publications". This report (pp. 56) may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, for ten cents. It contains much useful information, and all teachers of Hispanic American history and conditions would do well to have a copy of it, as well as of all the publications of the Bureau dealing with Hispanic America.

The Americas for July contains among other items: "The business awakening the war brought to Brazil", by Leon J. Bensabat; Spain—a European nation just starting to develop"; and "Team work between America and Cuba has paid well for both", by John H. Allen. In the August number appear: "Brazil—a land whose future promises another United States"; and "Second Pan-American Congress to meet January 12, 1920.

The July issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* publishes among other things: "Chilean conveyances yesterday and to-day", (transl. from *Auto y Aero*, Santiago de Chile); "Dr. Epitacio Pessoa's visit to the United States"; "Elemi of Tropical America", by C. D. Mell; "Intellectual progress in Mexico", by José Vasconcellos; "Interior cities of Brazil", by J. De Siqueira Coutinho; "Latin American tariffs", by William C. Wells; and "The second Pan American Commercial Congress". In August appeared: "Birds of Brazil", by R. W. Shufeldt; "The centenary of the battle of Boyacá", by Angel César Rivas; "Commercial and industrial education in Chile", by Félix Nieto del Río; "Latin American tariffs (part II.)", by William C. Wells; "Nahuel-Huapi National Park", by Víctor Andrés; "The

significance of the conference"; "Writers of Honduras", by Francisco José Albir.

Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, the able secretary of the Board of Editors of *The Catholic Historical Review* was compelled during a part of the summer to take an enforced rest because of overwork. Because of this numbers 2 and 3 of the above-named *Review* (those for July and October) have been printed together. The Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M., has just been appointed an associate editor.

Of special interest to students of Hispanic American history in this double number is Charles E. Chapman's "A great Franciscan in California: Fermín Francisco de Lasuén". The issue throughout is of interest.

The review *Centro-América*, published in Guatemala City, as its name indicates, is concerned with things Central American. In the number for January-July, 1919, the following matters are discussed: "Algunos datos curiosos para la historia anecdótica de Centro-América"; "Conversión de la deuda interna en Costa-Rica"; "Información centro-americana"; "La instrucción pública en Guatemala", by Benito Pérez-Verdia; "José Enrique Rodó y el Americanismo literario"; "Mensajes presidenciales"; "El problema de la degeneración en Centro-América"; and "Tratado general de la paz y amistad entre las repúblicas centro-americanas".

Cuba Contemporánea for August has the following papers: "Chile-Perú (La inmoralidad de un tratado secreto)", by Félix Nieto del Río; "Evolución del socialismo moscovito", by F. de P. Rodríguez; "Lanuza y un capítulo de Sismondi", by Julio Villaldo; "La política de los Estados Unidos en el continente americano", by Raúl de Cárdenas; "Política internacional americana", by J. C. Zamora. The issue for September has articles as follows: "La literatura cubana juzgada en los Estados Unidos" (transl. by Guarina Lora de Henríquez from Coester's *Literary History of Spanish America*); and "La política de los Estados Unidos en el continente americano", by Raúl de Cárdenas. In its October issue appears: "Algo más sobre Tacna y Arica", by Juan Clemente Zámora; "La literatura cubana" (*ut supra*); "Méjico y los Estados Unidos", by Juan Clemente Zámora; "El profesor Eugenio Florian", by José A. del Cueto.

Hispania for October contains a paper by Professor Rafael Altamira in Spanish entitled "El primer congreso internacional de hispanistas"; and "A course of study in Spanish for high schools", by E. L. C. Morse. The number is notable for its bibliographical information, much of which is of Hispanic America. As pointed out before in this REVIEW, the bibliographical notices and lists published in *Hispania* are useful not only to the teacher of Spanish but to the historical student as well.

Inter-America for August presents the following translations from Spanish into English: "A great journalist dead", by Gonzalo Zaldumbide (transl. from *América-Latina*, Paris, January 1, 1919); "The intellectual work of Leopoldo Lugones", by Gregorio Uriarte (transl. from *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, December, 1918); "The North and the South: The United States and Latin America—Observations upon a timely subject" by Jesús Semprum (transl. from *Cultura Venezolana*, Caracas, December, 1918); "The renewal of metaphysics: its possible renovation, according to José Ingenieros" by Armando Donoso (transl. from a monograph published in Santiago de Chile, in 1918); "Río de Janeiro", by C. M. (transl. from *Estudio*, Barcelona, February, 1919); "The soul of Amado Nervo" by Napoleón Acevedo (transl. from *Nuestra América*, April, 1919); and "A tribute to Amado Nervo" by Manuel Gálvez (transl. from *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, April, 1919). The issue for October contains the following matter of value to students of Hispanic America: "The dictatorship of the proletariat", by Mario Guiral Moreno (transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, Habana, July, 1919); "An interview with Dr. Brum", by a correspondent (transl. from *Myriam*, Buenos Aires, 4th year, no. XXX,); "Lima", by C. M. (transl. from *Estudio*, Barcelona, June, 1919); "Novel changes in the constitution of Uruguay" (transl. from an editorial in *Cuasimodo*, Panamá, June, 1919); "Rosas and Doctor Francisco", by José de Armas (transl. from *Eos*, San José, Costa Rica, May 15 and 30, 1918); "The struggle for independence in Argentina", by Rufino Blanco-Fombona (transl. from *La Reforma Social*, Habana, March, 1919).

La Lectura, which is published in Madrid each month, and which is now in its nineteenth year, devotes considerable attention to bibliography, and reviews of periodicals in two hemispheres.

The *Mercurio Peruano*, a monthly review of social sciences and letters, now in its second year, is published in Lima under the directorship of the well known Víctor Andrés Belaúnde. César Antonio Ugarte and Manuel R. Beltroy are the secretaries of the editorial staff, the rest of the staff consisting of the following: Juan Francisco Elguera, Adán Espinosa Saldaña, Luis Góngora, Mariano Iberico Rodríguez, John Mackay, José Leonidas Maldueño, Francisco Moreyra y Paz Soldan, Cristóbal de Losada y Puga, Alberto Ureta, Alberto Ulloa Sotomayor, Carlos Ledgard, Horacio H. Urteaga, Luis Varela Orbegoso, and Carlos Wiesse y R. Among contributors are: Ventura García-Calderón, José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, Clemente Palma, Juan Bautista de Lavalle y García, Pedro Yrigoyen, and Enrique Castro y Oyanguren. The review is published under an admirable format, and the articles and other material printed range from belles lettres to history and the sciences. In the June (1919) number the following articles are of chief interest: "Cuestiones de asistencia social", by Antonio Sagarna; "Daniel Hernández y la Escuela de Bellas Artes", by A. Jachamowitz; "La diplomacia del riel (Lima y Buenos Aires unidos por ferrocarril)", by Ricardo Tizón y Bueno; "Don José Payás", by Carlos Ledgard; "Observaciones sobre la organización social del Perú antiguo" (4th part), by Dr. Erich Zurkalowski. In the issue for July appear the following: "La adhesión de la República Argentina al tratado de alianza defensiva Perú-Boliviano de 1873" (4th part), by Pedro Yrigoyen; "Amado Nervo", by Luis Góngora; "La descentralización administrativa en Colombia", by M. A. Carvajal; "Divagación literaria", by Clemente Palma; "Etimología quechua de la palabra guacho", by José Gabriel Cosio; "El hundimiento de la escuadra peruana (16 de enero de 1881)", by Juan Pedro Paz Soldan; "José M. Valle-Riestra", by Luis González del Riego; "La misión de la 'Hispanic Society' de Nueva York", by M. B.; and "Una nota sobre Prehistoria Peruana", by Philip Ainsworth Means. Noteworthy articles in the issue for August include: the 5th part of "La adhesión", etc., by Pedro Yrigoyen; "Evolución de la arquitectura en el Perú", by Teodoro Elmore; "Exposición y objeto del criterio", by Santín Carlos Rossi; and "La primera centuria", by Carlos Ledgard. As pictorial supplements to the above three numbers of the review are published attractive colored prints of Bolívar and San Martín, one of Señora Marfa Olavegoya de Barreda, and another print showing "The dress of our grandmothers". This periodical takes its name from an older publication which began appearing weekly in Lima in January, 1791.

The *Mexican Review* or *La Revista Mexicana* (for it is known by both names), now in its third volume, is published in the City of Mexico under the editorship of George F. Weeks, with Edmundo Melero as business manager. This paper, which claims a circulation of 25,000, is apparently published in the interests of the present Mexican government, and most of the items are in the style of propaganda. Under the heading "Mexican News Bureau", is the announcement "Accurate news by wire or mail of all important matters. Special articles on any Mexican topic prepared by competent writers. Photographs furnished when desired. Questions answered. Special inquiries undertaken". The traveling representative in the United States is E. H. Talbot, who has resided for many years in Mexico. Material is printed both in English and Spanish, although articles are only roughly similar at times. Among the items for July are the following, the titles in each language being given): "Discoveries of prehistoric remains" ("Hallazgo de restos prehistóricos"); "Lands recovered for the people" ("Tierras recobradas para el pueblo"); "The man with the goatee" ("El hombre de la perilla"), by Manuel Carpio; "Mexican highways and byways" ("Por caminos y veredas de México"), by George F. Weeks (also continued in the August and September issues); "Mexico no longer a 'grab-bag'" ("Las condiciones actuales de México"), by Jack Neville; "Mexico's golden (silver) opportunity" ("Oportunidad para la plata mexicana"), by M. T. Chestnut; "Mexico's large foreign commerce" ("Comercio extranjero de México"); "In the petroleum field" ("En el campo petróleo"); and "A visit to Mexico" ("Una visita a México"). In August were published the following: "Carranza makes trouble" (Carranza constituya la dificultad); "Empiricism of Latin America" (El empirismo de los gobiernos latino-americanos), by Manuel Gamio; "How unions and strikes are legalized" ("La legalización de las uniones y las huelgas"); "Mexican educational films" ("Películas mexicanas instructivas"); and "Six hundred millions in petroleum" ("Seiscientos millones en petróleo"). In September, among other things were the following: "An American's views on Mexico" (Un Americano opina sobre México), by Adolphe (de Castro) Danziger; "The Catholics are satisfied" ("Los Católicos están satisfechos"), by Robert H. Murray; "English capital in Mexico" ("El capital inglés en México"); "More facts about damage claims" ("Más cerca de las reclamaciones"); "Proposed new petroleum law" ("La nueva ley de petróleo"); "A sample oil concession" ("Ejemplo de una concesión petrolera"); "Some facts for interventionists to con-

sider" ("Consideraciones para los intervencionistas"); "Vested rights not ignored" ("Sobre los derechos adquiridos"); "Young Men's Christian Association" ("La Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes"), by Walter C. Taylor.

Chief articles published in *The Pan-American Magazine* during the last few months have been as follows: May—"Argentine economic problem"; "Bolivian financial agent in the United States"; "British and Americans in South America", by W. H. Koebel; "Impressions of Haiti", by J. S. Howat, and "Opportunities for American capital in Chile", by Felix Nieto del Rio. June—"Aerial transportation in South America"; "The Brazilian coffee crop"; "Foreign trade of Brazil during 1918"; "Mexican finance and Mexico's foreign creditors"; "Santiago, the capital of Chile, a century ago"; "Travels from Buenos Aires, by Potosí to Lima", by Anthony Zachariah Helms; and "Will the United States hold its present trade in Argentina?", by Robert S. Barrett. July—"Business conditions in Argentina"; "Investment of United States capital in Latin America"; "The league of nations and South America"; and "Second Pan-American Commercial Conference". August—"Cattle raising in Colombia"; "Central American problems"; "Exhibition of Brazilian textiles"; "The field for electrical development in South America"; "Mexican-American friendship"; "The new provisional president of Peru"; and "Promoting trade between North and South America". September—"Anglo-South American trade", by B. Sanin Cano; "Cuba's constitutional suffrage amendment", by General Enoch Herbert Crowder; "The oil fields of Mexico", by Leon A. Harvey; "The personality of the Chilean people", by Ernesto Montenegro; "The proximate future of immigration to Argentina"; "The supremacy of the sugar industry in Cuba"; and "The unity of the West Indies", by P. W. Wilson.

The initial number of the *Pan American Review*, which is published monthly as the organ of the Pan American Society of the United States, was issued in February, 1919. In it, the objects of the Society, which have for some years been familiar to those interested in Hispanic America, are stated as follows:

To promote acquaintance among representative men of the United States, and those of the other republics of America.

To show hospitality and attention to representative men of the other republics of America who visit the United States.

To take such other steps, involving no political policy, as the Society may deem wise, to develop and conserve mutual knowledge and understanding and true friendship among the American republics and peoples.

In the first number of the Review, Dr. John Bassett Moore, after stating the objects of the Society, declares that the Review is being undertaken as a step in the realization of the aims of the Society. In each number of the periodical are contained a foreword, one or more articles, and personal notes and general items of interest connected with Hispanic America. Among articles already published are the following: "Brief biographical sketch of Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, President-elect of Brazil" (June); "Business ethics in Pan American trade" (February); "Commercial arbitration with Latin America" (July); "Hands across the equator" (September), by Harold Martin; "Intellectual relations of the Americas" (September), by Samuel G. Inman; "Inter-American educational ties" (September); "The Pan American High Commission: its constitution, work, and prospects" (February), by John Bassett Moore; "Some impressions of the sixth National Foreign Trade Convention" (June), by Francis B. Purdie; and "South American Shipping" (May and August). It is hoped that this new review will have a long, prosperous, and influential life, for it is filling a field—that of the personal—that no other periodical dealing with Hispanic America has entered so fully. Since the initial issue there is discernible a steady progress that will cause this organ to be looked for eagerly.

The *Pan Pacific*, during August and September has published the following articles; "Investments in South America" (September), by A. A. Preciado; "Latin-American harbors" (August), by Dr. W. E. Aughinbaugh; "Mexico making progress" (September), by Lazaro Basch; "Peruvian copper rich investment" (September); "Publicity an art in Latin America" (September), by F. Eugene Ackerman; and "Rio Janeiro a city of activity" by Lucie Muller Morgan.

Revista Comercial, of Montevideo, publishes the following in its issue for June: "El comercio y la política (La Unión Democrática)"; "La cuestión social"; "Las huelgas argentinas"; and "La prensa y la expansión económica".

The *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras* (Buenos Aires) contained the following noteworthy articles in its June issue: "Federación argen-

tina", by A. Quiroga; "La moneda internacional en las estadísticas americanas", by E. J. Weigel Muñoz; "El presidente y el congreso en la teoría y en la vida de la constitución", by J. A. González Calderón; and "Tratado de alianza argentino-peruano de 1873. Revelación y anotación de documentos" (continued in issue for July), by Pedro Yrigoyen. The July issue contained the following: "El capital de sociedades anónimas", by Roberto Rubens; "Criterio individual experimental de la educación y de los métodos pedagógicos", by Genaro Giacobini; "El examen de ingreso a la universidad", by José M. Monner Sans; "La figura histórica de Alberdi", by Ernesto Quesada; "Legislación obrera, by E. S. Zeballos; "Pardo de Cela", by M. Castro López; "La raza argentina", by W. Tello; "Sarmiento antiguo y moderno.—El verdadero Sarmiento", by César Reyes; "Sud-América en el congreso de la paz". "El Río de la Plata", by M. de Oliveira Lima; and "Universidad de Chile (Discurso en la recepción del académico don Julio Vicuña Cifuentes, 27 de abril de 1919", by Arcadio Ducoing.

Revista Económica, of Valparaiso, Chile, in its number for June 2, 1919, publishes an interesting article on "El comercio exterior del Brasil"; and one on "Cooperación internacional. La estabilización monetaria".

COMMUNICATIONS

New York, July 16, 1919.

Dear Sir:

. . . The study most interesting to me [in the May issue of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW] is that by Mr. Priestley, on the "Mexican Literature of the Present Revolution." The reading of this article has served to confirm my impression of the difficulty in forming an idea even half way approximate on the life, character, and problems of a nation, through a literature completely saturated with passion and intended rather to establish a thesis than to reveal the truth; and that it is impossible to impart a real and true knowledge to the foreigner who has been in the country for a few months or perhaps for a few years, but who has been engaged in a special kind of work which has not allowed him to make historical studies and to get at the origin of things, to show him the vast difficulties which present themselves for the modification of things, and how the revolutionary process is useless for bettering that social status from the moral and economic, and even patriotic, point of view. The fact that Mr. Priestley

compares the work of Molina Enríquez with the works on Mexico of Humboldt and that of Señora Calderón de la Barca is a proof of how things with a false appearance can be mistaken at a distance for pure gold. To those of us in Mexico who know Molina Enríquez and his work, this appears to be a profanation. Humboldt was a man of great knowledge who had the enormous advantage as an authority, of knowing many countries, and his study was based on the fundamental law of all solid knowledge, namely, comparison. He came to Mexico for the sole purpose of pursuing scientific studies, quite removed from anything of a political character. His generalizations are deductions carefully drawn from facts. His knowledge of physics and mathematics, as well as of history and literature, surprise and at the same time delight the readers of *Cosmos* and of the *Vistas de las Cordilleras*. Señora Calderón de la Barca wrote a small book on Mexico which has sufficed to make her name immortal. The secret of her success depends in part because of the fact that she also used the comparative method. But the reason why her book is far ahead of other works of a similar nature, as, for instance, *Notes on Mexico*, by Poinsett, the first minister of the United States to Mexico, is found in the fact that Señora Calderón de la Barca put into her work not only her great intelligence, but also her heart, which was more responsive and even greater than her intelligence. She could behold Mexico with a spontaneous sympathy born from her penetration. It is interesting to note how in her book the first impressions were not favorable, and how, little by little, as she took account of the character of people and things, her sentiments became modified and her judgment fixed. She did not share that conventional sympathy which some foreigners show for the Indian, mingled with contempt toward the class which has given to Mexico what it possesses of culture—a sympathy which is so much the less convincing because such persons would not be ready to give to the Indian or to individuals of other races the treatment given them in Mexico. From this sentimental insincerity arises the fact that all their estimates are wrong and they are incapable of analyzing the causes of our social status, Molina Enríquez has brought to his work neither the enlightenment of Humboldt nor the spontaneity or profundity of sentiment possessed by Señora Calderón de la Barca. He talks of the zone of cereals without knowing it; and of the influence which he supposes it has exercised on our history, without knowing that our history gives the lie to every one of his assertions in respect to the law that those who have dominated the zone of the cereals have dominated

Mexico. He makes generalizations which he calls historical laws, such as, for instance, that a transformation in the proprietary regimen of a country has never taken place without a bloody revolution. This generalization has served as an excuse for all the crimes committed by the present revolutionists, who have caused a change in the ownership of property, but have not made a greater number of proprietors. And that generalization, which immediately influences the will of those who are ignorant of history is without foundation to those who have sometimes taken the trouble to read history with some attention. Molina Enríquez asserts that the large landowners are against any separation from their landed estates. Through personal experience in splitting up rural estates in Mexico, I can testify that for a long time there has been no proposition more pleasing to the large landowners than is that of the purchase of their estates, for by the sale of them, they become free from their enslavement to the banks, to which they have never been able to repay the debt once contracted and for which they have worked all their life long. National agriculture has not produced enough to feed our people or to pay the debt which the agricultural proprietors support;—a state of affairs in which neither the large nor small rural proprietors have any blame. Agricultural property was on the way to a very rapid splitting up, considering the economic condition of Mexico, when the mistaken banking policy of Limantour in 1908, and the ensuing revolution stayed that evolution which had begun exactly with the advent into power of General Diaz—of that same General Diaz, to whom the Mexican politicians attribute *a priori* the concentration of property into a few hands. The movement of the splitting up of rural property has been manifesting itself since the obtaining of independence, and perhaps before that event. It was restrained or made to take several steps backward in the time of Juárez, to whom writers like Molina Enríquez attribute also *a priori* the movement of the splitting up of property. All these facts have been brought out in my book, *Infuencia de España y de los Estados Unidos sobre México*, accompanied by statistical data which have not been refuted, and which, indeed, far from that, are today accepted as the truth by the Carrancista writers and officials themselves. . . . In my book, I study the history of territorial property and the causes of the impoverishment of Mexico. . . . Molina Enríquez might assert, will surely assert, that I am a reactionist, . . . but I have been the only Mexican, who, while minister, presented to Congress a project of law for the splitting up of territorial property in Mexico, a project

which was welcomed by those classes whom Molina Enríquez asserts have no wish to be dispossessed of their lands. . . .

Sincerely.

T. ESQUIVEL OBREGÓN.

Berkeley, California, October, 1919.

Dear Sir:

I am grateful to you for sending me Mr. T. Esquivel Obregón's comments on my review in the last HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW of Mr. Molina Enríquez's book on the land question in Mexico. I can, I hope, remove some misconceptions. Mr. Esquivel Obregón has received two erroneous impressions from my article. First, he has failed to note my preliminary statement that I was endeavoring to represent the thought of the author but not espousing his opinions. Second, he gathers that I put Molina Enríquez on a par with Humboldt and Madame Calderón. Hardly that, as will be seen from a closer reading of my statement; furthermore, Humboldt and Madame Calderón were both foreigners, writing with brief personal experience of Mexico; Molina Enríquez writes in the midst of controversy, but with the knowledge of a Mexican, who at least thinks about the questions he discusses, sometimes erroneously, as Mr. Esquivel Obregón justly points out. Great books are like great men; they have great faults, but they excite thought, and, ultimately, settlement of problems. They help to bring solutions to pass. So with Molina's book. So with Mr. Esquivel Obregón's criticism.

Mexican *expatriados* may necessarily dissent from my statement that the book is a great one. I read it with the keenest interest before I knew anything about the writer. I have since learned that he has been quietly relegated to a position of no political influence in Mexico because he is considered too radical. That need not destroy our faith in his book, for the Revolution, as I understand it, in so far as it is based on the land issue, is very largely postulated on the basic errors which Molina Enríquez desires to depict and to remedy. He is more consistent, probably less politic, than those influences which have relegated him to obscurity.

I have also read from cover to cover Mr. Esquivel Obregón's *Infuencia de España y de los Estados Unidos sobre México*. Unfortunately, I had not seen this book until the article which Mr. Esquivel Obregón criticises had been printed, or I should have included it in that résumé of Mexican literature of the Revolution, for it deserves a high

place among the writings which have been evoked on one side or the other of the weary struggle. After reading that book, the pertinent parts of which are epitomized in the author's article in the last *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, one will agree with him that Molina Enríquez would call him a reactionary. Conservative would be a better designation. He is at one extreme, with Molina Enríquez at the other. In spite of this, there is a chance of reconciling the two attitudes, for they agree on the main issue, namely, that large holdings of land ought to be subdivided for the sake of the social results. Mr. Esquivel Obregón was urging that program when his government fell, perhaps because the operation necessarily moved too slowly. Mr. Molina Enríquez went into a lesser, but an important, office, on a property-dividing platform, and was removed from his post for putting his program into operation, perhaps because he moved too rapidly.

It is not for me, foreign to Mexico, though keenly interested in her history, her welfare, her future, to dispute facts with the distinguished gentleman who has held cabinet positions in Mexico. He knows more about Mexico than I ever can. So does Mr. Molina Enríquez. From my distance, I look upon these two gentlemen as types of the means of Mexico's salvation. They are not far apart in their love of country, in their solicitude for her welfare. They have differed, not as to the ends desired, but as to means and agencies. They have both made intensive studies of the land problem, from diametrically opposed positions, but they both desire to march on the same goal. Thousands of Mexicans are like each of them. If only their minor differences could be reconciled, and God grant they may speedily be so, we should be able to look out upon a rejuvenated Mexico whose sons, overlooking the extraneous and immaterial, would be carrying their native land into that prosperity, that general well-being material, social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, which is the devout hope of every well-wisher of Mexico.

Very sincerely yours,

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

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